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# POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE ON THE NAVY IN THE 1970'S

VOLUME 5 PART III

Section 7 NATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

Section 8 DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS



WESTINGHOUSE  
DEFENSE & ELECTRONIC  
SYSTEMS CENTER

NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
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CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDIES & ANALYSES

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Final Report

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PART III  
Section 7  
NATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

## NATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

### AMERICAN VALUES

1. As most, or many, of the forces and predictions already discussed come to achieve impacts upon the Navy, many will not achieve their effects directly but through the institutions of American society in which the Navy operates. We attempt in the next Section to trace the channels of impact through these more or less formal institutions. However, there will also occur impacts through more general channels, which we term here National Orientations. Accordingly, this Section is divided into three sub-sections:

American Values

Domestic Priorities

Foreign Policy

2. In a large sense, it is almost fruitless to seek to express American values other than diversity, pluralism, nonconformity, and elusiveness of categorization. Other than these, there is no selection of values, or any arrangement of them in priority, to which all Americans will subscribe. To a fair lesser degree, there are even value rankings concerning which a number of Americans might join in consensus, but they would have to be very short lists.

3. Many learned and perspicacious analysts of the American ethos have attempted to construct such hierarchies of values. While we refer to a number of them in our wide-ranging coverage of this subject and cite at least one fully, we do not fully endorse any one of them.

4. A recent television drama, entitled "The American Dream," attempted to bespeak the prevailing nature and tone of analysis of American

#### Potential Impact

The Navy will inevitably be affected by changes in American values, and will adjust its own values appropriately. The Navy will also want to maintain cognizance of values that do not change. This may be more difficult to do in times of which it is asserted (inaccurately) that all values will change.

society. It purported to document an affluent family in Birmingham, Michigan, surrounded by materialistic evidences of success. The members were represented as being isolated from real social problems, such as poverty, drugs, and crime. Compulsively competitive, well-educated, and well-meaning, they were obviously unfulfilled and uncertain. (BN408)

5. How truly "representative" these figures are of Americans is not clear. So subtle are many of the real changes that are taking place, so powerful is the influence of the presentations of the media, so vituperative are many critics (especially American critics) of America that one is led to conclude that alienation is a new phenomenon linked to the current state of American society.

6. But is there anything new about alienation, especially as explored, dramatized, and disseminated by certain categories of Americans? In this connection, it is interesting to recall what Alfred Kazin wrote back in 1948:

Who is there to deny that for fifty years the ethos of American literature at its best has been resignation, attack, escape, but so rarely acceptance. Who is there to deny that the very frame of American writing in the modern era, the very effort to create a responsible literature in America appropriate to a new age, rests upon a tradition of enmity to the established order, more significantly a profound alienation from it. Modern American literature was born in protest, born in rebellion, born out of the sense of loss and indirection that was imposed upon the new generations out of the realization that the old formal culture — the "New England idea" — could no longer serve. Yet for fifty years, through all the progressions of fashion, the welding of America into the world scene, the growth of a modern movement unforeseen by those who helped — stumblingly, like all their generation — to build it, its spiritual history remains curiously the same. Modern American writers have "covered" the country exhaustively, steeped themselves in its reality; but there is a sense in which they have never learned to live in it. (BB175)

7. Thus, as we seek to explore American values and the directions in which they may turn (or hold fast) in the future, we may be less inclined to accept

the apocalyptic note, not only in our general literature, but also in some of our literature of prediction.

8. Francois Duchene begins with a "small overview" of what Daniel Bell calls the post-industrial society:

The "post-industrial" development ... means that services are coming to dominate the economy; and, more significant, that theoretical knowledge is becoming the engine of progress in society. It follows that the universities hold a key place in society and hence increasingly, in politics, too. But the "post-industrial" is only one of three "dimensions" in Bell's analysis. The second, and very important one, is that America is becoming a "communal" society. In the nineteenth century, wealth and benefits were distributed impersonally by the automatic operations of the market. If a man succeeded or failed, he alone seemed responsible. But as the realization began to spread that this justice was too rough, government took over more and more of the responsibility for full employment, welfare, education, research and, through them, for whole industries, regions and classes of people. At the same time, deprived minorities like the blacks have become more and more insistent that "equality of opportunity" is not enough, and demanded "equality of result."

More and more pressure groups, ethnic minorities, farmers, labor unions, localities, educational and scientific establishments, the military and others, have come to expect the federal government to arbitrate their competing claims, and to blame it for their frustrations. This plurality of thrustful minorities and factions generates a clamorous and contentious form of corporate politics. It is possible even to conceive of a point where conflicts cease to be local to their sector and polarize all society around the issue of violence itself. (BF6,

9. In the immediate future, the politics of street protests are likely to dominate American political life. Less visible is the gradual progress toward

#### Potential Impact

It was not only realization that the "justice was too rough" that grew, but also the realization that much of what was called justice was not justice at all. Social benefits were conferred or denied by heavily loaded dice. Social pressures are now strong in search of real justice — not only the broad justice of complex social and legal structures, but also specific fairness in detailed administrative procedures and human inter-relationships. The Navy, like all social institutions, will be pressed to reconsider the elements in all its systems involving people to ensure that its procedures, classifications, and judgments are unquestionably fair.

a new democracy increasingly based on participatory pluralism in many areas of life. Assuming that short-term crises do not deflect the United States from redefining the substance of its democratic tradition, the long-range effect of the present transition and its turn.oils will be to deepen and widen the scope of the democratic process in America. (BB54)

10. If past American experience is any guide,... it is likely that as a cohort those who experienced the radical and activist campus politics of the late 1960's will not continue in the distinctive frame of mind which they now show. Colleges are encapsulated communities. Their students are abruptly removed from the constraints of parental experience, and placed in an environment in which peer group pressures are especially intense and pervasive. For four years they inhabit this world apart, a remarkably homogeneous and unstratified society.

After graduation, however, most— even today when the absolute number rejecting a "careerist" outlook is far greater than ever before— reenter the highly differentiated larger society and take part in middle-class life in job, family and community. The intellectual legacies of the college years are by no means all lost, but the intense pressures of the encapsulated community which make for the distinctive and widely fluctuating character of student political opinion are for most removed as abruptly as they had been introduced.

One major distinction, however, should be made. To say that, as they grow older, alumni become more moderate, less committed to the support of current proposals for major change, than they were in their college years, does not mean that they necessarily become more conservative in any rigid policy sense. The crucial point is that the shift is relative: They become more moderate, as against an earlier position closer to the extreme. But though relatively more conservative, they may remain as liberal, in terms of the issues dominant in their college years. This results from a second, perhaps more important fact: While each college generation seems to go through the same process, any given later generation will have started at a more liberal or left position than the preceding

#### Potential Impacts

As the democratic process is widened and deepened in America as a whole, the democratic process will be widened and deepened in the Navy — tempered to some extent by other pressures, such as the search for excellence, and by the nature of the Navy's missions.

#### Potential Impacts

Though former students mellow as they mature, some may well retain certain specific orientations on selected issues which they may impress upon the next generation in the form of grievances. In view of some of the campus crusades of the late 1960's, some startling crusades may erupt in the future at times and places inconvenient to the Navy.

one. In short, the historical slope of political attitudes among American college generations (as among Republican presidents) has been toward a more liberal position over time. So, even if the 1960's generation becomes more moderate, it, like earlier ones, is still likely to end up at a point further to the "left" than its predecessors, and to the "right" of its successors. (BP256)

	<u>Potential Impact</u>
11. A nationwide survey conducted by Louis Harris and associates showed that the values of youth are remarkably close to those of their parents. Harris maintains that "the majority of youth listens to the rhetoric of dissent, picks what it wants, then slowly weaves it into the dominant social pattern." The poll was conducted on a national cross-section of 26 million Americans between the ages of 15 and 21. (BP435)	It appears reasonable for the Navy to expect the dominant social patterns of youth to include general compatibility between parent and youth values indefinitely.
12. Some shifts in values that are said to be occurring:  Sensing that information is sometimes manipulated to obtain certain behavior—for example, by government to obtain support for its programs or by business to obtain customers for its products.  Belief that profits no longer can justify business actions which impinge on the public interest.  Belief that the Protestant ethic may no longer hold, that work in the public interest may be better than work for economic gain.  Attributing to the seller the responsibility for his product, both in its intended use and in its side effects.  Acceptance of the fact that progress has costs, monetary as well as environmental and human, and that progress for its own sake or for economic gain may no longer be totally acceptable.  Growth of a new humanism, an exploration of new states of consciousness and awareness of being, which promotes community, touching, and sensitivity and encounter groups.  Dissatisfaction with the inequities in society, particularly those which appear to be structural attributes of the system. These inequities include, for example, the poverty gap and differences in health delivery and educational opportunity.	

A view of the United States, at times, as a potentially violent nation, aiming nuclear weapons and being target in turn, very advanced economically but impoverished and blind in important social domains. (BM94)

Vietnam and Some of Its Value Reverberations:

13. America has always had a record of local violence, for instance in labor struggles, but since the Civil War these have rarely affected the over-all political stability of the country. Bell's argument is that America has been protected from its own vitality, as European countries have not, by the sheer size of the continent relative to the means of communication. This cushion of "insulated space" no longer exists.

In some ways, this may mean only that American political structures and problems are growing more like those of other countries. (BF6)

14. Professor Philip Slater is one example of not the most destructive critic, but not the most constructive, either:

The past few years in America have seen the gradual disintegration of the illusion that we are not a violent people.

It is hard to evaluate changes in level of domestic violence because, when society was decentralized, the chronic violence in city slums and certain rural areas did not disturb society as a whole. Our willingness to acknowledge the inequity of domestic violence has never extended itself to the international sphere. We hold to notions that we always become embroiled in foreign conflicts against our will, seduced from our pacific pursuits. (BB325)

Potential Impact

The gist of many of these capsule appraisals seems to be the emergence of a higher level of accountability expected of major public and private agencies alike, an expectation that will affect the Navy in both general and specific ways— for example, accountability not only for funds, facilities, manpower, and missions entrusted to the Navy, but also accountability for its values as being reasonably compatible with widely-held American values.

Potential Impact

These views, mixing accuracies, half-accuracies, and inaccuracies, form part of the future context which will confront the Navy and other social institutions as they seek to preserve the legitimacy of their roles.

15. What disturbs thoughtful Americans most about Vietnam is the prevalence of "genocidal thought patterns" in our approach to the conflict: "rooting out the infra-structure or killing everyone in a specified area; body count becomes an end in itself; defoliation, napalm, and cluster bombs are designed to exterminate a population, not to win ground, liberate, convert, or pacify. (BB325)

16. America has always been marked with genocidal proclivities; note our systematic extermination of the Indian, the casual killing of American blacks during and after slavery, and our indifference to dropping an atomic bomb on a large civilian populace. When all is said and done, American lives, while accorded an extraordinarily value relative to those of Vietnamese civilians, still take a back seat relative to the death-dealing machinery they serve.

The very fact of Vietnam's weakness and strangeness increases our hatred, our willingness to use sadistic and genocidal instruments. (BB325)

17. ...Our society, as many have pointed out, has traditionally handled the problem by giving completely free rein to technological change and opposing the most formidable obstacles to social change. Since, however, technological change in fact forces social changes upon us, this has had the effect of abdicating all control over our social environment to a kind of whimsical deity.

...We talk of technology as the servant of man, but it is a servant that now dominates the household, too powerful to fire, upon whom everyone is helplessly dependent.

... The advantages of all technological "progress" will after all be totally outweighed the moment nuclear war breaks out (an event which, given the inadequacy of precautions and the number of fanatical fingers close to the trigger, is only a matter of time unless radical changes are made).

Let me make clear what I am saying here. I do not believe in the noble savage and I am not advocating any brand of bucolic romanticism. I do not want to put an end to machines, I only want to remove them from their position of mastery, to restore human beings to a position of equality and initiative. As a human I must protest that

being able to sing and eat watermelon all day is no compensation for being beaten, degraded, and slaughtered at random, and this is the nature of our current relationship to our technological order.

Youth is increasingly asking—what about people? Why have you abdicated your birthright to hardware? It is a humiliating question, and humiliating questions tend to be answered with blows. (BB325)

18. Jean Francois Revel has a different perspective toward the American ethos:

Today in America—the child of European imperialism—a new revolution is rising. It is the revolution of our time. It is the only revolution that involves radical, moral, and practical opposition to the spirit of nationalism. It is the only revolution that, to that opposition, joins culture, economic and technological power, and a total affirmation of liberty for all in place of archaic prohibitions. It, therefore, offers the only possible escape for mankind today: the acceptance of technological civilization as a means and not as an end, and—since we cannot be saved either by the destruction of the civilization or by its continuation—the development of the ability to reshape that civilization without annihilating it.

It is essential for humanity that there should exist a society capable of making a revolution without sacrificing democracy. The United States seems to be in this position, and confers on this process the significance of a worldwide prototype. (BP343)

19. A publication, "Social Responsibility of Business Corporations" by the Committee for Economic Development (CED) points to how business can respond to changing requirements of society in education, employment, urban renewal, pollution, conservation and medicine.

Potential Impact

This is another view with which the Navy will have to cope as the Navy represents the nation in various international contexts—that a revolution is occurring in America without sacrificing democracy. Whether it is true or not, and to what degree, may be less important than that it is believed by substantial segments of foreign opinion.

The fact that an organization drawn from America's largest corporations should be addressing itself to the role of business as an instrument for social progress serves to underline the validity of M. Revel's thesis. (BP343)

20. Revel claims that the Socialist revolution 's being carried on in the United States and is the only place in the world where this is so. The French, as well as the Soviet regimes, are mockeries of their beginnings. The Leftists in France are afraid to take power because of their belief that conditions do not conform to the text-book formula for taking power. The Soviets rely on armies to advance Socialism because they cannot advance Socialism by any other means. If they could, their armies would be superfluous. (BN375)

21. Clayton Fritchey considers it a myth that there is a silent conservative majority turning the nation toward the right. He analyzes the welfare reform bill, the tax reform bill, the repeal of abortion laws, and the increase of social security benefits, to show that the liberal trend is as strong as ever and likely to remain so. (BN611)

22. It was David Reisman's impression in 1968, derived from studying public-opinion polls, that, except among the most militant, firm ideological polarities of Left and Right had not crystallized; rather, the Vietnam war and the race issue overlap and combine with different constituencies to create political constellations that may not be permanent. Undoubtedly, Wallace's national showing helped make legitimate the myriad local campaigns which the Right Wing continuously wages. Yet other than shooting looters and bombing Haiphong, there is no coherent national right-wing program; a new long-term right-wing hegemony—as opposed to a traditional conservative one—has not been forged. If the war should continue, a violent push to the right is likely to ensue, both abroad and at home. But if we can somehow make peace in Vietnam and survive the present era, we may discover that America's development toward further openness has been only temporarily halted. (BP347)

Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values

23. Rokeach asserts:

An understanding of man's beliefs, attitudes, and values will not come about unless we are willing to distinguish these concepts from one another and to employ them in distinctively different ways;....beliefs, attitudes and values are all organized together to form a functionally integrated cognitive system, so that a change in any part of the system will affect other parts, and will culminate in behavioral change. (BB292)

24. A belief is an inference made by an observer about underlying states of expectancy. All beliefs are not equally important to the individual. The more central a belief, the more it will resist change. The more central the belief changed, the more widespread the repercussions for the rest of the belief system. (BB292)

25. We define importance solely in terms of connectedness: the more a given belief is functionally connected or in communication with other beliefs, the more implications and consequences it has for other beliefs and, therefore, the more central the belief.

Any given authority belief is typically controvertible because the believer has learned that some of his reference persons and groups do, and some do not, share his belief. A change of belief with respect to authority, or direct communication from one's authority, should lead to many other changes in beliefs deriving from authority. These derived beliefs form what is ordinarily referred to as an institutionalized ideology and, along with the identifications with reference persons and groups on which such ideologies are based, provide one with a sense of group identity. (BB292)

26. An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of interrelated beliefs that describe, evaluate, and advocate action with respect to an object or situation, with each belief having cognitive, affective, and behavioral components...A minimum condition for social behavior is the activation of at least two interacting attitudes, one concerning the attitude object and the other concerning the situation.

...Some of these beliefs about an object or situation concern matters of fact and others concern matters of evaluation. An attitude is thus a package of beliefs consisting of interconnected assertions to the effect that certain things about a specific object or situation are true or false, and other things about it are desirable or undesirable.

Values, on the other hand, have to do with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. To say that a person "has a value" is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence. Once a value is internalized it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a standard or criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and others' actions and attitudes, for morally judging self and others, and for comparing self with others. (BB292)

27. There are disagreements on definitions of "value"; few, however, would dissent from the principle that values are important in behavior. They concern standards of choice and the normative, and they involve some degree of commitment. Barret edited a collection of various views toward values; it is interesting to note that the contributors to Barret's collection concluded that mass culture, secularization, the social ethic, and homogenization are not balanced descriptions of America. (BB19)

28. What a man believes depends in large part on the ideological opportunities and demands presented by a variety of membership groups and reference groups. Individual variation within every major grouping, however, is large. (BP250)

29. A person's value-system may be said to represent a learned organization of rules for making choices and for resolving conflict between two or more modes of behavior, or between two or more end-states of existence.

Many social factors can be expected to restrict sharply the number of obtained variations in value-systems. Similarities of culture, social system, taste and class, sex, occupation, education, religious upbringing,

and political orientation are major variables that are likely to shape in more or less similar ways the value-systems of large numbers of people. (BB292)

30. In the early volume produced by this project, "The Institutional Values of the Navy," the following definition of values evolved from our value study; it is inserted here for the benefit of those who may prefer it: "Values are internalized criteria which individuals consciously and unconsciously utilize to make choices among potential judgments and behaviors."

31. In Buddenbrooks, Thomas Mann portrayed a family which preferred different values in each of three successive generations. The first sought money; the second, civic and social position; the third, music. It will be recalled that President John Adams made a similar observation almost 200 years ago.

Berry says there are three influences on the formation and change of values:

religious conviction; environment, including the physical surroundings, associates, the cultural atmosphere, "things", and "background", and experience, including actual, vicarious, and inherited. (BB32)

32. There are a number of dimensions of values which are subject to change; in the process of changing they change the value to which they are related. Among such dimension changes are creation, relatively sudden destruction, attenuation, extension, elaboration, specification, limitation, explication, consistency, or intensity. (BM157)

33. Means holds that there are three different levels of analysis when attempting to assess the role of values in American society: Individual value claims and direct expressions of value commitments; the behavior of people as a reflection of underlying values; and the symbolic expression of value commitments in cultural objects, such as literature, art, law, education, etc. In other words, people's values are revealed by what they say their values are, by what their actions indicate their values to be, and what their culture expresses as being of value to them. (BB225)

34. In pursuing understanding of current and future values of America, it is helpful to keep in mind the hierarchy of needs postulated by Abraham Maslow and complemented by Douglas MacGregor. Briefly, Maslow postulated a five-step hierarchy of man's needs or motivations—the most basic forming the base of a pyramid. The bottom is the survival level (life, food, water, heat). The next is the level of safety and security. The middle level is that of social acceptance. The next top level is that of success, prestige, esteem. The highest level is that of self-actualization, self-fulfillment.

MacGregor held that man is a wanting animal, as soon as his current wants are satisfied, he is not satisfied but turns to wants that had to be previously deferred. MacGregor asserted that satisfied wants are no longer motivators of behavior.

Accepting these propositions as true explains (in an oversimplified way) the continuum of value-pursuit fueling social change. When people lack bread, they work for bread and appreciate receiving it. But when bread-getting is no problem, they see no particular reason to be grateful for bread but demand automobiles. Hence, parents who lived through the Great Depression have difficulty in understanding affluent children who take economic security for granted, as though it were one of the fixed elements of the earth.

Potential Impact

Thus, drawn from American values, traditional military values, and the values of organizations, a hierarchy of values can be adduced to represent the institutional values of the Navy. Given the self-selection experiences of the persons who seek to enter the Navy, the selection procedures of the Navy, and the common experiences of persons in Navy life, some minimum consensus exists by which perhaps most people in the Navy would accept a particular formulation as a reasonable statement of Navy institutional values. This does not imply that every individual in the Navy would either subscribe to the formulation as a reasonable statement of the Navy's institutional values, or subscribe to the formulation as an approximation of his personal value system. In addition, large groups within the Navy would probably prefer some revision of an all-Navy formulation to express better the consensus of the group. It can be expected that a number of sub-variants among value systems exist simultaneously in the Navy and in any other large organization.

### What Are American Values?

35. There are a number of formulations of American values, many of them thoughtful and worthy. For reasons explained in "The Institutional Values of the Navy," we select one formulation for presentation here—that of Robin Williams, Jr.

Williams listed 15 major value-belief themes considered salient in American culture (no priority is intended among the 15):

1. Activity and work
2. Achievement and success
3. Moral orientation
4. Humanitarianism
5. Efficiency and Practicality
6. Science and secular rationality
7. Material comfort
8. Progress
9. Equality
10. Freedom
11. Democracy
12. External conformity
13. Nationalism and Patriotism
14. Individual personality
15. Racism and related group-superiority themes.

36. Walter Gruen, social science research coordinator at Rhode Island Hospital, has conducted a series of statistical studies of what he terms "the American core culture." Rather than the monolithic system of beliefs attributed to the middle class by earlier investigators, Gruen found--to his own surprise--that "diversity in beliefs was more striking than the statistically supported uniformities. It is perhaps already misleading to talk of an American culture complex." Gruen suggests that particularly among the affluent, educated group, consensus is giving way to what he calls pockets of values. We can expect that, as the number and variety of subcults continue to expand, these pockets will proliferate, too. (BB355)

37. The classic descriptions of the "American character" by De Tocqueville, Bryce, and others brought out two sharply contrasting sides: 1. anxious conformism, emphasis on socially-defined success; a tendency to "escape into the crowd" rather than to look within; and emphasis on work and leisure, on quantity over quality, and on varied activity rather than deep experience; 2. genuine humanitarianism, capacity for self-awareness, aesthetic sensitivity, readiness to identify with the underdog. (BP250)

38. Certain observers have of course, constructed intermediate prototypes; and all prototypes contain a number of subvariants.

V. L. Parrington said that a major dynamic in America's intellectual and institutional history is the conflict between authoritarian and equalitarian concepts of man and society. (3P250)

39. Warner discerns another basic conflict in the American ethos. He says the American Dream contains two propositions: all of us are equal; and each of us has the right to a chance of reaching the top.

These are mutually contradictory; for if all men are equal, there can be no top level to aim for, no bottom one to get away from; there can be no superior or inferior positions, but only one common level into which all Americans are born and in which all of them will spend their lives. We all know such perfect equality of position and opportunity does not exist; all Americans are not born into families of equal position.

We recognize that, though it is called a Dream and though some of it is false, by virtue of our firm belief in it, we have made some of it true. (BB366)

Potential Impact

This is the classic conflict between the values of freedom and equality, which are essentially antithetical. Our institutions establish various forms of compromise, and to some extent the tension between the two is always in flux. The Navy, too, will be confronted with changing interpretations and emphasis in this basic equation, as it revises its own perspectives and procedures to keep abreast of changes in American values.

40. Slater identifies two cultures in America: the old scarcity-oriented technological culture, which is predominant; and an amorphous counter-culture which challenges it. This tension has reversed some priorities of the old culture which gave preference to:

- property over personal rights
- technological requirements over human needs
- competition over cooperation
- violence over sexuality
- concentration over distribution
- producer over consumer
- means over ends
- secrecy over openness
- social forms over personal expression
- striving over gratification
- oedipal love over communal love

It would be disastrous to attempt to eliminate any structural principle altogether; but if the balance between individualistic and collective emphasis is not altered, everything in the new culture will be perverted and captured into simply another bizarre old-culture product. The new culture seeks to create a tolerable society within the context of persistent American strivings, such as utopianism, the pursuit of happiness. Nothing will change until individualism is assigned a subordinate place in the American value system; for individualism lies at the core of the old culture, and a prepotent individualism is not a viable foundation for any society in a nuclear age.

#### Potential Impact

The implication here is that the left-hand element of these equations is old and bad, and that the right-hand member is new and good. This sweeping implication is untenable. Each equation and the circumstance to which it is expected to apply, would have to be validated separately. Some would not be validated under these terms. Nevertheless, many of these indicate potential general value shifts which may become important to the Navy, in analyzing and coping with future value orientations of Navy people.

#### Potential Impact

This analysis is ambiguous, for individualism is strongly emphasized in other predictions as also a cardinal value of the new culture. The dilemma between rising individualism and rising demands for a collectivist orientation is better stated elsewhere.

41. Americans have always entertained the strange fantasy that change can occur easily and without pain. This springs from a confusion between change (the alteration of behavior patterns) and novelty (rotation of stimuli within a pattern). Past efforts to build utopian communities failed because they were founded on scarcity assumptions. But scarcity is now shown to be an unnecessary condition, and the distractions that it generates can now be avoided. We need not raise youth to feel that life's primary gratifications are in short supply. (BB325)

42. In his examination of economic life in America, Joseph Fitzpatrick takes it for granted that individualism has been our traditional "central value." Competition, freedom, success, and equal opportunity were considered subordinate to individualism, which is defined as the "idea that everything must be done to give each individual the freedom to achieve the fulfillment of which he is capable."

...the thesis is adduced that individualism and freedom must be recognized and now confined to group action, and in this way the worker makes his valuable contribution, rather than as an isolated individual. Freely chosen, individually satisfying and responsible group effort thus achieves the individual's self-interest, as well as collective goals.

43. Reisman comments:

...the idea of national purpose represents in some measure a deficit of purposes in the society at large. To participate as a citizen in national purpose is perhaps not inevitably a form of alienation, for both the best and the worst goals of men may be vicarious, transcending one's own immediate interest. But before looking at the nation it may clarify matters to look at groups and corporations.

It is a mistake to attribute to all members of an organization or even a nation the purposes held or set forth by the leaders. The capacity to be

Potential Impact

We do not agree that scarcity is now shown to be an unnecessary condition—only in somethings, and in some situations, times, and places. Critical scarcities will influence future American life and future Navy life; and Navy approaches which abandon training in how to cope with scarcity will be inadequate.

Potential Impact

As in all social institutions, it will challenge the Navy to evolve concepts and procedures for innovative "individually satisfying and responsible group effort" that achieves the individual's self-interest as well as collective goals.

preoccupied by the goals of an organization is unevenly distributed.

...political scientists sought to limit as well as guide national purpose away from moralistic and over-ambitious aims by developing the concept of the "national interest"—a concept that tends to crumble when one asks in whose interests within the country are the various definitions of the supposed national interest. (BB286)

44. At the present time, the problem of value inconsistencies is submerged within the larger problem of uncertainty concerning values. The cultural underpinnings that secure commitments to a given set of values seem to have become less firm. It is this dimension of value change which is at the root of the pervasive sense of "value crisis" in our age. (BM70)

45. Barret comments that the consuming interest in values in America since World War II has almost become a sign of the times. The goals envisioned by political and social reformers of previous centuries have largely been achieved; we have general education, greater leisure, material abundance and democratic institutions in higher degree than could reasonably be hoped for. Yet our leaders seem to grow increasingly concerned and more disposed to become self-critical, uneasy and inclined toward short-term and expedient solutions to contemporary value-conflicts. The followers, on the other hand, become skeptical and superficially sophisticated in regard to basic values. Public opinion, once the gauge of society's moral climate, often seems to swing as aimlessly as the demagnetized needle of a compass. (BB19)

46. Reisman: As Lipset and others have pointed out, there are times in American history when consensus and liberty seem to be the main problem and other times when equality and fraternity present themselves as major issues; there is an inherent tension between the fear of stability and the search for it. (BB286)

47. Parsons asserts that the dominant American value pattern at a very general level is one of instrumental activism. This is fundamentally individualistic, yet it is an institutionalized individualism, in that it is normatively controlled at the moral level in two ways: a 'good

Potential Impact

The concept of the national interest is not so vague or brittle as to be hopelessly beyond recognition, especially when confined to enduring universals such as the nation's safety and independence and the nation's welfare and progress. It becomes a less useful concept when applied to groups, situations, or particular objectives. This distinction may become of some importance to the Navy in future periods when special groups attempt to discount the idea that any national interest really exists that restricts whatever that special group may choose to do.

"life" means a good society; the individual is regulated by a normative order (justice). The values legitimize a direction of change, not a terminal state. (BP99)

48. Equality of opportunity is being replaced as a goal by the concept of equality of condition. The Great Society has programs which tend to support this notion. (BB242)

49. America is becoming less achievement-oriented, less of a meritocracy. It is focusing on needs, instead of abilities. (BP46)

50. The drive to work often had direct connections with religious convictions, and became connected with visible accomplishment, with reward for the work virtue. The importance of work has shifted to the urge to appear successful as measured by the power and property which one openly consumes. The President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science calls for the courage to pronounce that work for work's sake is philosophically bad and can only result in mortification of the spirit and the flesh. (BM155)

51. Robin Williams has frequently cited a decline in achievement values. The ethic of hard work and ascetic self-discipline is changing in favor of security, social approval, conformity (to other people, not to a tradition), and smooth interpersonal relations.

#### Potential Impact

If a meritocracy arises, as is frequently predicted also, equality of opportunity will necessarily remain a cardinal value (equality of condition and meritocracy are contradictions). However, it will be a genuine equality of opportunity, and not the partial-myth that the term denoted in the past. In particular, the disadvantages stemming from some persons' early life circumstances will be subjects of remedial action, before true equality of opportunity could be said to exist. The Navy will be involved in both remedial action and in purifying the application of equality of opportunity in its systems.

#### Potential Impact

The Navy may want to reserve judgment for an additional period, before concurring that work for work's sake is, necessarily, philosophically bad.

#### Potential Impact

The Navy will take careful note of the distinction between a decline in achievement as a value-orientation, while it still retains great motivating power, and assertions that achievement has declined to the level of inconsequence.

Achievement has receded in salience and intensity in relation to success, but the change is a shift in emphasis rather than a reversal of values, and achievement remains an outstanding value-orientation. (BM155)

52. Forecasting and planning have become respectable in many sectors of the American institutional scene in the last decade, due to technical progress. Many believe that the values of hard work and pride of workmanship are in the descendant in an era of automation, but this conclusion strikes Rescher as dubious. The society may choose to go the way of selective production of highly labor-intensive goods and services. There seems little doubt that, in the better-taught and more leisure-oriented America of the year 2000, artistic creativity and the arts (creative and performing) generally will occupy a far more important and influential place than they do today. (BB16)

53. Over the past generation there has been a marked tendency in American life--one whose continuation and intensification can confidently be looked for--to shift from the Protestant Ethic of "getting ahead in the world" to the Social Ethic of "service to one's fellows." Many forces have produced this phenomenon--ranging from spiritual causes to material causes. There has thus been in many sectors of our national life--including the industrial--a distinct elevation of the historic American value of public service, not just in the traditional political arena, but service of a very different kind. (For example, the Peace Corps.) The social engineering of which the poverty program is only a first and modest forerunner, will become an increasingly prominent phenomenon of the future. And our society's housekeeping problems are already very extensive (one in seven workers works for the government--federal, state, or local). (BB16)

Potential Impact

The shift in emphasis toward the value of "service to one's fellows" may impact on the Navy in at least two ways: 1. it may encourage the Navy to participate more extensively in social action, and 2. it may provide an opportunity for the Navy to stress more cogently the "service" nature of its own activities and, hence, recruit greater general support for the Navy among those who are able to adopt that perspective toward the Navy.

54. The prospect of self-advancement has been an important American value in the past...we shall reach the end of an era in this regard. Social adjustment and the acceptance of a value-pattern based on socio-economic realities may well prevail says Rescher, over the older vision of a heroic drive towards outstanding achievement. The group-adjustment point of view may well be expected to predominate...(BB16)

55. There is increasing crowding in the land, and in its population centers in particular. There is the especially unstable side effect of "Category crowding". We have to deal not just with more people, but with more senior citizens, more college students, etc. The sheer volume of people has a seriously erosive effect on a whole list of American values ranging from privacy to the cherished right to be treated as a person.

Note here also the tendency to physical grouping--largely for reasons of economic convenience--that results in segregation by age (all the young marrieds in one neighborhood and the senior citizens in another). Perhaps the main impact of these trends is upon the traditional value of individualism. (BB16)

56. A Delphi survey by Gordon and Helmer appraised various expressions of current "folklore" about what is happening to American values. These are the items of folklore, and the appraisals in parentheses:

That we are losing our commitment to values in general. Nothing is dear to us throughout our lives--we choose only what momentarily fills the gap. (Probably false)

That we have lost our attachment to the serious values that reflect genuine human needs (health, friendships, freedom, etc.). Increasingly we value what is essentially frivolous (escape, diversion, amusement). (Probably false)

That our values are becoming more and more man-directed (health, success, group-acceptance) and less and less God-directed (living God-fearing lives, doing God's work, accepting what God ordains). (True)

That our traditional commitment to moral values are going by the board. Honesty, probity, etc. are becoming obsolete. Moral indignation is out of fashion. We are less and less prone to bring to bear the ideas of right and wrong, and the increasingly diffident about our ability to make such discriminations. (No statistically significant agreement)

That we are becoming more and more materialistic. The spiritual qualities of man are no longer precious to us. (No statistically significant agreement)

That American values are going to pot. The traditional American value foci (country, honor, independence, probity, etc.) are becoming things of indifference to us. They are no longer upheld or worried about. (Probably false)

That our taste and our aesthetic values in general are being debased (by mass-culture, television, pulp magazines, etc.). (Probably false)

That our values are becoming more and more social values, with less and less emphasis upon individual values. (e.g., social injustices worry us more than individual ones.) (Probably true) (BB16)

57. A Fourth of July (1971) editorial in the Washington Post:

Americans have become better informed, more sophisticated less intolerant. They have fewer illusions about themselves. They desperately look for leadership. They are ready to move on with the work of creating a better, more equitable society.

America is recording significant progress, yet the people themselves do not seem to think so. Doubt and distrust are pervasive. (BN572)

58. Clyde Kluckhohn suggests that the United States has experienced a set of changes in values resulting in heightened emphasis on group rather than individual goals, on security rather than future success, on adjustment rather than competitive achievement, and on expressive rather than instrumental values.

More specifically, he suggests eight appraisals:

(1) Strictly personal values have given way, in favor of more publicly standardized "group values," whether those of a community, an organization, or a profession.

(2) More emphasis is being placed on psychological desiderata relating to mental health, the education and training of children, and self-cultivation (as an adaptation to 'normality' in group living.)."

(3) Respectable and stable security has risen in the scale of values at the expense of high aspirations and effort directed at long-time future success.

(4) Aesthetic values have received increasing favor.

(5) Participation in organized religion has risen in approval, but the emphasis seems to be heavily on group affiliation and stability rather than on intensified personal religious commitment.

(6) Heterogeneity in certain respects is becoming a principle of organizing the value system; variety is valued.

(7) Ideals for women have changed, as have sexual codes.

(8) There is an increased concern for abstract standards; greater value is placed on explicit values. (BM155)

#### Potential Impact

The trend seems relentless toward increasing emphasis on group values, but in a number of senses. What kinds of groups? In conflicts among the values of different kinds of groups, which ones are preferred? By whom? Many similar questions can be pursued, but the answers are still ambivalent. The Navy will be concerned about this trend, for the Navy has always been an organization that emphasized groups. This trend, however, may exert change in certain aspects of Navy group dynamics. In addition, shifting emphases will still include the individual's desire to be treated as a unique person as a basic focus. Doubtless a number of changes will occur in the complex interrelationships on the three important levels: Navy - Navy group - Navy individual.

59. Kenneth Boulding comments on assimilation vs. the mosaic society:

American society up to now has stressed the idea of a "melting pot" and has sought to create through public education a uniform culture. With increased affluence and increased political skill, this ideal can now be called into question. Can we now invent a "mosaic" society, composed of many small subcultures, each of which gives to its participants a sense of community and identity which is so desperately needed in a mass world, and which can at the same time remain at peace with its neighbors and not threaten to pull the society apart? (BB242)

60. Robin Williams notes, with respect to the value listed in his list of 15 American values:

During the last 50 years both racist beliefs and group-superiority beliefs and values have greatly diminished in prevalence and intensity, and a substantial reduction in gross discrimination has been achieved.

Studies of public attitudes show a marked increase since World War II in the acceptance by white people of racial integration in schools, public accommodations, and residential areas. The general weakening of racist beliefs continues in spite of some strong local counter-movements, and seems likely in the long run to undercut to some extent ideas of group superiority based on ethnic or religious differences. Racist ideology is not likely to disappear in the foreseeable future, but it is conceivable that it could cease to be a major theme within, perhaps, the next 25 years. (BM155)

61. Seymour Lipset argues that the "massive technological and social changes have left relatively intact the main values and such enduring tensions as democratic equalitarianism versus achievement orientation." Talcott Parsons favors the thesis of relative constancy rather than fundamental change in American values over a relatively long period. During the last 50 years, no completely new major value-orientations have appeared or disappeared completely. The most important changes have been changes in beliefs, in emphasis, accent, and arrangement of values. (BM155)

62. Williams has attempted to measure whether acceptance of his 15 American values has been intensifying or weakening during two periods since the turn of the century, with conclusions shown on this chart:

Value-belief complex	Period (approximate)	
	1900-1945	1945-1965
Activity	Indeterminate	-*
Work	-	-
Achievement	-	+(Post-Sputnik I)
Success	+	+
Material comfort	+	+
Humanitarianism (domestic)	+	+
Humanitarianism (war)	+	-
"Absolute" moral orientation	-	No change
Practicality	+	-
Efficiency	+	-
Science and secular rationality	+	+
Progress	+	-
Freedom	Indeterminate	-
Equality	+	+
Democracy	+	Indeterminate
Conformity (to social pressure)	+	+
Individual personality	+	Indeterminate
Nationalism	+	- to +
Racism - group superiority	-	-

\* (-) is decrease; (+) is increase.

(BM 155)

63.

What is likely to happen to American values in the future?

If it is accepted that our values must be future-oriented, then some traditional values will be threatened. For example: those derived from Biblical faith, what Paul called the "fruit of the Spirit": love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; also such others as confidence, courage, belief, truth, beauty, honesty, love of God, love of neighbor; as well as all those which are tantamount to the demand for complete independence, for either the individual or the community separately; and those valued simply for their own sake (such as knowledge, or beauty for its own sake) or for oneself only; or those taken as unchangeable absolutes (in the traditional sense), such as the absolutes of ethical theory and moral practice, or those of political, economic, or religious belief. (BB55)

64.

Dr. Welles W. Harman, Director of the Educational Research Center, Stanford Research Institute, asserts that there is fundamental and rapid social change ahead, including economic decline and disruption of social processes. His reasons:

- (1) Resolution of society's problems requires changes in cultural values. For example, one flaw in decision-making is that the individual is encouraged to choose on the basis of short-term, imprudent self-interest, instead of long-term, enlightened self-interest.
- (2) Change in life view. There will be increased emphasis on humanistic, spiritual, quality of life, community values; less emphasis on materialistic, status, or economic values. Also, there are indications of increased interest in, and tolerance for, the transcendental, religious, esoteric, occult, supra-rational, mystical, and spiritual.
- (3) Certain trends that occurred prior to previous revolutionary cultural and political changes are occurring once more. For example, some decreased sense of community, more alienation and personal disorders and mental illness, greater social disruptions, increased public acceptance of hedonistic behavior, and larger amounts of non-institutionalized religious activities. (BP333)

65.

National science and technology will become a powerful lobby for its own interests, selling its ideas to the public and decision makers alike. There will be a growing debate between natural scientists and political scientists over the future course of the society.

As the natural scientists and technicians deal with other groups in society, they will come to share some of the operating values and goals of their beneficiaries and sources of support: government, industry, and the military. As these groups become closely tied together with respect to goals, interpretation of facts and defense of these interpretations will become more subject to the values of the non-scientist clients. This may cause communications problems and encourage over-simplification. Arguments will range over the entire spectrum of ethical problems engendered. (BB232)	<u>Potential Impact</u>  The Navy will probably be reluctant to engage in many such debates. Yet, it may be in the Navy's own interests to participate in appropriate ways. One of the groups benefiting most may be those members of the Navy who possess misgivings or other questions of an interdisciplinary nature about complex problems involving the Navy.
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66. In these debates the inability of the nonexpert to contribute significantly to these discussions will be demonstrated. It will be extremely hard for the voter to make an intelligent decision about national issues. To make some sense from the confusion, the average citizen will join "causes" aimed at getting specified types of government action. In all likelihood, these causes will not be very influential, but will serve as a means of preserving the forms of popular democracy at the citizen or local level.

Those with inadequate education will feel more left out than they are today. They will regard experts with cynicism, as having "their own axes to grind." This group may find its own spokesmen to call attention to its grievances. Finally, many will remain indifferent. This indifference will make it difficult for policy-makers to preserve democratic processes. (BB232)

67. Hazard has developed a complex of predictions about the impacts on American values of urbanization, contraceptive ideology, the automobile, and other major trends. The following analysis of the impacts of urbanization on values is typical. By 2000, the impact of urbanization will UPGRADE the following American values:

physical well-being and comfort; economic security; convenience in style of life; self-fulfillment; love and affection (if population is controlled); leisure; friendship; intelligence; reasonableness and rationality; law and order (if population is controlled by new available techniques, mobility is provided, and technology such as television is employed for more or less comprehensive surveillance by authorities to detect early public activities suggesting disorder); aesthetic beauty; equality and civil rights (if adequate mobility and adequate technical surveillance are provided); peace, (as urbanism over the globe, reported and interpreted by global television, erases senses of difference); human dignity; reverence for life which is in existence. (BB16)

68. Hazard predicts that urbanization will DOWNGRADE the following American values:

one's own (undisciplined) pleasure-antisocial license, self-reliance, wealth, prowess and ability, success, power (except for the vicarious sense of power), freedom from interference, privacy, devoting to family, idealism (a concept too imprecise for the technics of urbanism), patriotism (urbanism will outmode the national state), and democracy. (This last item needs to be qualified: the technical management of urbanism will call for technicians whose selection cannot be safely left to balloting, but democracy in the sense of civil rights as distinguished from its political sense need not be downgraded.) (BB16)

69. Other assessments of the possible effects of various technological developments predict, for example, that the population explosion and urban crowding could result in:

- devaluation of privacy
- strengthening of small-group values (fraternal organizations, participation sports) to provide foci of identity
- upgrading of physical security, stability, public order
- upgrading of tolerance
- upgrading of beauty (natural and artistic), heightening of aesthetic values (BB16)

70. A Delphi survey conducted by Rescher concluded that the next generation will, in their opinion, see a change in the direction of "slightly

increased emphasis", on:

- one's own pleasure
- physical well-being and comfort
- economic security
- convenience (in style of life)
- self-fulfillment
- leisure
- intelligence
- natural beauty (or environment)
- culture
- aesthetic beauty (e.g., in architecture)
- novelty
- equality and civil rights
- social justice
- peace
- internationalism

71. The Delphi panel expected little or no change in emphasis (statistically speaking) in the following:

- self-respect
- love and affection
- wealth
- prowess and ability
- success
- power
- freedom from interference
- privacy
- friendship
- reasonableness and rationality
- prudence
- conscientiousness

law and order  
service to others (voluntary)  
idealism  
personal beauty (good grooming, etc.)  
democracy  
human dignity  
reverence for life (BB16)

72. What effects of economic-technological change can be expected on creative and intellectual achievement?

Rescher responds that, as the complexity of society increases, the need for particular traits and qualities increases, e.g., those skilled in sciences and engineering, and economic and managerial matters. The result is that a higher premium will be put upon the values traditionally bound up with these particular traits and qualities. Intelligence and inventiveness, for example, are values that will probably be in the ascendant for many years ahead. (BB16)

73. At the same time, because of increased needs for the highly skilled, the value of good education is securely placed, although there may be certain strains and stresses here caused by (a) direct pressures upon the school population itself (with 10,000,000 Americans in college by the year 2000), and (b) a certain value erosion about education itself as it slips increasingly in status from a surplus asset to a minimal requirement. (BB16)

74. Rescher's Delphi panel considered that significant impacts would result from such developments as control of the aging process, psychological engineering, and an intensified knowledge explosion.

For example:

That psychological engineering (e.g. by socially accepted use of personality-control drugs) will have significant effect; with increased emphasis on self-respect, self-reliance, freedom from interference, and privacy.

75. The Delphi panel concluded that certain developments would have a very large impact on American values: Specifically, the use of artificial organs;

biochemical general immunization; instantaneous worldwide communication (by satellite); near automatic large-scale goods transport; automation in the professions (law, medical diagnosis); the TV-telephone; automation in the home (household "robots"); automation in information (automated libraries and automatic translation); synthetic proteins and ocean farming; and weather control. (BB16)

76. The crowding of the avenues of action in modern life increasingly puts the individual into a position not so much of interacting with other individuals as individuals agents but of reacting to them as a mass comprising a complex system. Many of the things that go wrong are best looked at as system malfunctions. It seems probable in this context that we will less and less treat such failures as matters of individual accountability. Rescher suggests that we will, not improbably, move increasingly towards the concept of a "Veteran's Administration" for the victims of the ordinary hazards of life in our society. Individual responsibility and personal accountability has suffered some depreciation in American life over the past two decades, but it seems likely that in the years ahead social accountability will become an increasingly prominent value. (BB16)

77. Farson proposes a provocative Bill of Rights for 1984:

Right to Leisure--that is, the right not to work and still be considered a worthy human being.

Right to Beauty--that is, turning to experiences that refresh the spirit and expand the senses, an attitude that beauty is a human need and ugliness will be regarded, literally, as a crime against life.

Right to Health--that is, redefining health to mean not merely the absence of illness, but the opposite of illness, a positive condition of well-being.

Potential Impact

Large organizations such as the Navy, too, will probably revise some of its procedures to regard them more as system malfunctions than individual failures. Especially if complexity grows, as promised, some individuals, despite good will and good effort on their part, will become frustrated and occasionally "defeated" by both complexity and constant change. Some of these may become "casualties of future life" and require new concepts of care and rehabilitation. Perhaps organization perspectives will change toward individual responsibility in reports of survey and other instances of damage to equipment.

Potential Impact

Such tenets as are contained in this "Bill of Rights" augur changes in concepts and practices of leadership and interpersonal relationships in military institutions, as the world turns from hardware to people.

Right to Intimacy--in that people need to get acquainted with their own feelings, and they need to be able to share those feelings; new designs for living which will encourage unforced emotional intimacy will be needed.

Right to Truth--demands of more truth from self and others; less "presenting" of oneself, and more sharing.

Right to Study--that is, the right to life-long study and learning, to the enriching experience of learning as an end in itself, continuing throughout life.

Right to Sexual Fulfillment--legitimate as the pleasures of eating and drinking or listening to music.

Right to Peace--that is, the use of non-violent techniques for conflict resolution.

Right to be Unique--that is, for the individual to be different and autonomous. (BF13)

## DOMESTIC PRIORITIES

1. Having concentrated on American values, we turn to Domestic Priorities in this Section, to be followed by Foreign Policy—all as elements of a summary focus on the orientation of America as the nation faces the future.
2. Gerald Feinberg reminds us that it is essential that we formulate, and be confident about, our long-term goals (i.e., into the 21st century) so that the interim developments, the implementation of technological innovation and the ethical issues involved, might all be coordinated and resolved in a rational manner to achieve those goals. (BB109)
3. And, it might be added, so that we do not arrive at intermediate circumstances which may not be desirable, and which may even preclude the attainment of desirable long-range goals.

### Domestic Perspectives

4. The September 1971 issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science was completely devoted to the pro's and con's of "Seven Polarizing Issues in America Today," that is, the seven public questions said to be commanding the greatest public interest:

- the implications of military withdrawal from abroad
- how to mount an effective crackdown on crime
- Federal revenue sharing with localities and states
- White House versus Congressional power
- enfranchising the eighteen-year-olds
- should pornography be regulated?
- Women's Liberation

(BP372)

5. After a nationwide circuit undertaken to measure the pulse of America, James Reston discussed a number of beliefs which he said appeared to be "in vogue" at this time between the Alleghenies and the Rockies:

- The Vietnamese War is a mess which we should never have gotten into, but it is coming to an end.
- The rebellious kids are wrong and a menace.
- Stopping crime needs more policemen and tougher penalties, much more than slum clearance.
- The Supreme Court has gone way off the track in its decisions and has assumed far too much "legislative" power.
- Taxes are too damn high.
- The poor are poor mainly, though not entirely, because they won't work and have too many children.
- Government spending to solve social problems has failed.
- Education is in trouble because "they" now teach everything but what counts, which is reading and writing.
- We need a lot more defense, for the Communists are still a menace; and at the very least, cutting the defense budget is dangerous.
- Negroes have rights, but forced school integration is going to leave everybody worse off.
- One of our main national problems is permissive parents.
- Private enterprise can do anything better than government, so government should be reduced to the minimum.
- Growth is not only inevitable, but good, so big business is good and bigger business is better; but big government is terrible, and bigger government is dangerous.

(BN430)

6. One reviewer appraised several current books which claim that America is on the decline. Each book goes through a long roster of alleged evils of American society. Two books end on an optimistic note of hope, albeit a small note. One is a doomsday book; and another states that we are in our decline and will not come out of it, because we lack the will to do so. (BP10)

7. Other perspectives assess our future differently. One source details the amazing progress that America has made since the end of World War II. Indicators such as increased prosperity measured in civilians employed, business activity, buying power, home ownership, financial security, health, education, and leisure, support the proposition that advancement has meant a better life for most, if not all, Americans. The analyst stresses that in these times of confusion, we should stress our past 25 years of achievement, and go boldly forward to solve our problems. (BP422)

8. The U.S. News and World Report compiled a book devoted to what is good about the United States:

- personal rights give us a flexible system of response to the needs of the greatest number.
- the effectiveness of our agricultural programs is one of the most dramatic stories of our times.
- American education has grown into a \$58.5 billion industry. American institutions of higher learning are displacing those of Europe as meccas for students. "It's the fact that you Americans really support the pursuit of knowledge. You have not only the means, but the will to get things done."
- winning the war on disease. America leads in medical advances, from public health to microsurgery.
- explosion in the arts; \$5 billion per year is spent. The National Council of Arts views art as a right, not a privilege.
- culture for millions: TV, movies, recordings, books are consumed in unmatched volume.
- more than any other nation, America supports a tradition of voluntary giving in terms of time and dollars.
- supremacy in technology.
- conquering space.
- nationwide support of parks and recreation facilities.
- truly, the land of opportunity. (BG73)

9. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare strikes something of a balance in recognizing what has been done, yet emphasizing what there is yet to do. HEW reports its attempts to draw together a set of statistics reflecting social accounting:

- health: inefficient financing provides incentive for underuse of preventative medicine.
- social mobility: expanding education provides enhanced opportunities, yet discrimination does exist.
- physical environment: misuse of resources is evident.
- income and poverty: the broad social distribution of income has remained unchanged over the last 20 years. We need reform in income maintenance.
- public order and safety: There is increased crime among the poor. Attitudes toward law and police must change.
- learning; science, and art: Education and the sciences flourish, but the arts are in financial difficulty.
- participation and alienation: People need a clear sense of belonging.

The nation cannot make rapid progress along every avenue at once. Social reporting cannot make the hard choices any easier, but it can help to insure that they are not made in ignorance of the nation's needs. (BP360)

10. In Nigel Calder's Technopolis, he argues that mankind's number one priority is "social control of the uses of science." Referring to this appraisal, Maddocks says:

#### Potential Impact

Despite the role of the military in pioneering many lines of systematic psychosociological research (e.g., motivation, leadership, personnel classification, primary group dynamics, organization dynamics), the military area is often omitted from current "social accounting." Yet, the military interest is legitimate and its experience relevant. The Navy will continue to be interested in progress in social accounting and social forecasting, and in participation so that appropriate Navy interests are reflected.

Futurists seem to be contending that the future is an optimistic one. What science has messed up, science can clean up. But perhaps it is finally a matter of temperament—of instinctive hope or instinctive despair—that divides those who anticipate the future and those who dread it. (BN221)

11. Reisman is basically optimistic. "Social character," he says, "is not all of character."

The individual is capable of more than his society usually asks of him, though it is not at all easy to determine this, since potentialities may be hidden, not only from others, but from the individual himself. Most people in America today can afford to attend to, and allow their characters to be shaped by, situational difference of a subtler nature than those arising from bare economic necessity and their relation to the means of production. (BB289)

12. The New York Times discussed national priorities in February 1972:

The task is to create a society which is sustainable, which will give the fullest possible satisfaction to its members, and which would depend on stability rather than expansion.

Unfortunately, government has an increasingly powerful incentive for continued expansion, in the tendency for economic growth to create the need for more economic growth. This is done in six ways:

Firstly, the introduction of technological devices, i.e. the growth of the technosphere, can only occur to the detriment of the ecosphere, which means that it leads to the destruction of natural controls which must then be replaced by further technological ones. It is in this way that pesticides and artificial fertilizers create the need for more pesticides and artificial fertilizers.

Potential Impact

Like other major social institutions, the military may eventually appreciate a condition of relative stability, rather than expansion, although there will be some prices to pay. At worst, a period of stability would enable the military, as part of the entire social fabric, to shake down to stable roles with stable expectations. Such a process will involve a considerable degree of restoration of the image of legitimacy.

Secondly, industrial growth, particularly in its earlier phases, promotes population growth. Jobs must constantly be created for the additional people—not just any job, but those that are judged acceptable in terms of current values.

Thirdly, no government can hope to survive widespread and protracted unemployment; and without changing the basis of our industrial society, the only way government can prevent it is by stimulating economic growth.

Fourthly, business enterprises, whether state-owned or privately owned, tend to become self-perpetuating, which means that they require surpluses for further investment. This favors continued growth.

Fifthly, the success of a government and its ability to obtain support is to a large extent assessed in terms of its ability to increase the 'standard of living' as measured by per capita gross national product.

Finally, confidence in the economy, which is basically a function of its ability to grow, must be maintained to ensure a healthy state of the stock market. Were confidence to fall, stock values would crash, drastically reducing the availability of capital for investment and hence further growth, which would lead to further unemployment. This would result in a further fall in stock-market values and hence give rise to a positive-feedback chain-reaction, which under the existing order might well lead to social collapse. (BN286)

13. It is widely held that the trend toward egalitarianism continues. In fact, there are continuous trends toward:

- egalitarianism and meritocracy
- the diffusion of goods and services
- effective democratization
- lowering of barriers to educational opportunity
- increasing indifference of business and governments to occupational

prerequisites other than ability and education; for example, New York and California guarantee college admission to high school graduates. (BM34)

14. Increasing education and technological competition increases challenges to authority and policies of government.

Minority groups are able to advance their interests.

Advances are occurring in women's status. Interestingly enough, several related developments are promoting the female cause: serial careers, temporary marriages, diminishing influence of the family, and population-control pressures. (BM34)

15. A futuristic study was published by the National Industrial Conference Board, an independent business research organization, in the fall of 1970. The report prepared by many participants (such as Donald Burnham, Chairman of the Board of Westinghouse), identified trends which would cause public problems in the 1970's and 1980's.

Basically, the forecast found that the United States is moving through what it called a period of unusual political-economic 'power activity.'

'New patterns of power are in the making; the ultimate design is not clear. Traditional powers are breaking out of confining channels, regulations and controls and are shifting...', the study found.

'For example,' it says, 'manufacturing is yielding important political-economic powers to service industries; smaller and medium-sized businesses, to conglomerates; cities and states to the federal establishment; the legislative branch, to the executive branch, the influence of teachers and politicians, to mass media; adults over 40, to those in their 30's and younger; generalists, to specialists; men to machines.' (BN210)

#### The Dilemma of Social Planning

16. One reviewer of Future Shock and Between Two Ages concluded that the central political concern of the current generation is to rationalize the effects of the dynamic processes of modernization on the social environment, without negating human choice concerning the future of the human habitat. (BP292)

17. Bennet is pessimistic that this can be done:

With the distribution of political forces so heavily in favor of big business and big communication, the chance for social change in favor of a new quality of life, for the eradication of poverty and racism, is anything but bright. (BP126)

Potential Impact

18. Brezezinski:

Technological developments make it certain that modern society will require more and more planning... But, the problem of how to combine social planning with personal freedom is already emerging as the key dilemma of technetronic America. (BP126)

As in social accounting, the Navy will be interested and involved in various aspects of social planning, including the provision of data inputs, and analysis of data outputs relative, for example, to the Navy's future manpower requirements.

19. A number of years has passed since Harrison Brown first wrote:

It is difficult to see how the achievement of stability and the maintenance of individual liberty can be made compatible... (BB50)

20.

The trend towards greater social planning raises some important value issues. While the governing of any nation or institution requires an orientation towards the welfare of the whole and imposes some constraints upon the behavior of individuals and groups within it, a system of social planning strengthens these needs and makes them more visible. Planning runs counter to traditional American beliefs in laissez-faire and the operation of some 'hidden hand' which acts as regulator. It asserts the necessity for deliberate control in the interests of the collectivity as a whole, which strains the strong individualistic values of American society. Americans have cherished the right of individuals and individual groups to act in accordance with their own self-interest, and have assumed that the net result for society must be beneficial. While such values may have been appropriate to an earlier more rural society, however, they are no longer adequate in a complex urban society. What was moral a hundred years ago, for example, the disposal of waste into the local river, is today unfeasible, because increased population density means that the accumulation of such singular acts results in an overload. (BM70)

21.

A report of the National Goals Research Staff declares that the government should provide the information about goals and goal setting that the public needs to engage in debate about the sort of society it wants, but that the

government cannot set goals for America. The Staff did, however, pose the following themes:

Contrary to earlier expectations, US population growth will level off and the prediction of 100 million more Americans by the year 2000 will likely prove too high. Accordingly, the issue of population is one of distribution, not of concern over growth. Schools must adapt to a period of widespread communication of ideas by shifting from efforts to give public information to an attempt to help them sift data and establish their own values. The emerging emphasis on qualitative values in society must not lead to a rejection of quantitative values. Rising expectations cannot be met without continued economic growth. And problems of today are a result not of failures of American institutions, but of their successes. By anticipating the consequences of government, business, or social policies, the nation can avoid problems or be prepared to cope with them as they emerge. (BN401)

22. Burns issues a call to rethink our goals and our means of attaining them.

The remedy for our evils is the same as in 1776 and 1787—to rediscover our over-arching values, to recommit ourselves to them, to restructure our institutions, to fulfill them, and to support and sustain leaders who will serve them, and these priorities: diffusion of civil liberties and civil rights; abolition of poverty; and protection of the environment. Burns gives a detailed explication of these seemingly trite and conventional proposals. What America needs is commitment to equality of condition and enhancement of that positive liberty that carries out FDR's promise of freedom from want and freedom from fear; freedom of speech; and freedom of religion. None of this really involves problems in spending more dollars, but does involve the reordering of priorities. (BP236)

23. One difficulty concerns the identification of indicators of progress, or lack of it, toward goals. For example, the 1960 Commission on National Goals reached consensus on 82 explicit goal statements; but, as Albert Biderman points out, even under loose criteria of reference, the exhaustive Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1962 yielded data pertinent to only 59% of the goals. Accordingly, much current

research effort is going into attempts to identify specific social indicators of specific goals. Broad goals, however, are not as compelling as they were a decade or more ago; increasing attention seems to be paid to values, rather than broad goals.

(BN200, BN390)

Potential Impact

24. Institutional procedures should incorporate room for competitive concepts. This principle can be illustrated in reference to the military bureaucracy. The military services should be pressed to present their proposals and projections in more systematic form, and the President should also have available independent, competing analysts. Programs and budgets for projected military operations, produced outside the military establishment, could provide the President with a competing angle from which to view alternative uses of military forces. (BP7)

25. Congressman Daddario has proposed the establishment of a Technology Assessment Board that would advise Congress on the costs and benefits of technology. The Board would be a "Devil's Advocate," independent of the government, with an exclusive function to detail the negative factors of a new technology. (BM69)

26. A Technological Hazards Board would maintain a technological audit of government programs, and lobby for reduction and control of potential risks to the public and the environment. (BM69)

27. The National Academy of Sciences suggests the maintenance of a network of control mechanisms throughout government and the private sector. (BM69)

## National Service

28. Mr. George Kennan suggests that when the war in SE Asia is ended, our present draft system be scrapped and replaced with a system of universal national service, to embrace all young men of a certain age, regardless of physical condition, and possibly all women as well. There is no reason why this service should be entirely military. It should include, for the men, a certain amount of basic military training; but it could certainly embrace a number of other useful functions, of a Peace Corps nature, with relation to the development of the country at large. Under such a system those involved would know exactly what awaited them, and for how long. They could plan their futures as they liked. If the government took the same pains that, say, some of the smaller European governments do to make this period of service an enjoyable and personally profitable experience for them, instead of leaving their intellectual and spiritual development while in service to the comics, the smut magazines, the camp movies, it could be a force both for true social democratization and for training in the meaning of citizenship. (BB179)

## Potential Impact

29. In the spring of 1971, a small group of educators, public officials, executives of voluntary associations, and social scientists assembled in New York City under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation to explore the dimensions of national service. The concept, first seriously offered to the nation by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the 1930s, could encompass any age group. But the theme of the conference, "Youth and National Service," limited the scope and reflected the reality that the nation was debating selective service and the volunteer army.

It seems likely that the implementation of almost any concept of national service will benefit the Navy in the long run, by supporting the normality of a sense of national obligation. Other potential aspects of beneficial fall-out would be provision of opportunity in systematic, constructive learning experience in a more pragmatic environment than the university campus, and the enhancement of cooperative attitudes. The Navy might well participate in administering certain activities, some of which might have no military connection or purpose.

The concept of national service does not only include the development of civilian programs. Thus Albert Biderman, sociologist, pointed out that the military itself was an extensive instrumentality of "civilian" national service. In "Toward Redefining the Military," he considers not only the potentials but the realities of the current scene. In a world of nuclear stand-off and no more Vietnams, while the military are the locus of counterviolence, its "people-killing" function is only a limited aspect of its life. In fact, to concentrate on the people-killing business is to weaken its legitimacy. Instead, the military needs to become more and more a national service body for emergency collective efforts that cannot be achieved by individual work—natural disasters, man-made disasters, ecological crises, air-sea rescues, forest fire-fighting, to mention only a few. In Biderman's terms, for the last twenty-five years national defense, as mainly a military concept, has been the central collective effort of this nation; now shifting requirements have given a new meaning to the defense of the nation.

In theory, opportunities and possibilities for national and community service are enormous. The immediate issue is priorities designed to serve that faction of youth who will actually serve. Donald Eberly of the National Service Secretariat [established]... that national service will require pilot projects. Its development will be a step-by-step process, learning from experience and avoiding the creation of an elaborate and extensive bureaucratic structure.

Voluntary national service will come as the result of pragmatic and piecemeal innovation. The United States is a nation which accepts incremental change and has a strong aversion to comprehensive social planning. In more cynical terms, the country has a powerful capacity to slip backwards into the future rather than to formulate meaningful national goals. It is striking to note, however, the extent and various forms of volunteer service which already exist and which supply the basis for future institutional building. In addition to the well-known opportunities of the Peace Corps, Teacher Corps, and VISTA, young men and women are involved in a variety of lesser-known governmental and private

programs. One of the more exciting is the efforts of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Forest Service, which already involves many tens of thousands of young people each year. The programs of the U.S. Public Health Service and the local police cadet corps have national service elements in them. To these must be added the arrangements by which considerable numbers of young people serve for one or two years in public welfare and educational agencies before they go on to other posts. This is particularly the case in municipal welfare agencies which are dependent on these short-term service personnel.

I would estimate that over 5 percent of the young people of each age cohort between eighteen and twenty-two have had such experience on an intensive basis. The trend is certain to increase, but the vitality, relevance, and effectiveness of national service will depend to some degree on nationwide planning and direction, although the component agencies are certain to be highly decentralized and local in their organization and control. (BP370)

30.

Professor Morris Janowitz commented at the Conference:

National service, therefore, will have to adapt itself to the end of selective service and the beginning of an all-voluntary military force. In 'National Service: A Third Alternative?' I sought to explore the institutional arrangements for relating volunteer civilian national service as a system parallel to the volunteer military. In short, arguments in favor of or in opposition to the all-volunteer force gave way at the conference, as it will in society in the years ahead, to the fundamental issues of developing effective youth manpower policies. A parallel system of voluntary civilian national service to a volunteer military force would help the legitimacy of each if the nation could accept the social definition of a flexible period of national service. There is no need to assume that all young people will serve, but presumably the nation could expect and could handle about 60 percent of a given age cohort. Length of service would vary from one to two years in general,

depending on the type of service and on the national need. There would be differential compensation, but pay would be mainly designed to assist young people in their transition back to civilian life. A central aspect of a parallel system of civilian and military volunteer national service would be the development of a National Service Agency which would serve the interests of young people and assist them in making their choices and in their movement out of national service. (BP370)

31. Mass education, and especially mass education in the inner city, presents one of the most comprehensive challenges for national voluntary service in the United States. These issues were examined by Gayle Janowitz, educator and specialist in the utilization of volunteer work and citizen participation in education. In her paper, "Educational Roles for Volunteer Youth," she sees national service personnel supplying the essential supervisory and coordinating manpower for massive use of tutors and 'helping hands' in education.

#### Some Critical Future Problems

32. Temporariness: Frequently noted as the future approaches, is the increasingly transient nature of property. Durability of goods diminish; there are more throw-away goods, due not only to advances in technology, but also to uncertainty about future needs. Much of our relationship to property will be temporary: rented cars, homes, furniture, and appliances, due to various causes, including geographical mobility, short-term needs and modification of acquisitive needs. (BM34)

#### The Metric System

33. Conversion of the United States to the metric system was proposed by the National Bureau of Standards but failed to incite Congressional initiative required by the Constitution, which mandates the Congress to set weights and measures.

A Bureau of Standards report claimed that the metric system is important to the exchange of technology and that metrication would increase American exports by \$1 to 2 billion per year, and proposes the creation of a national program to introduce the system; a 10-year period for its institution; the designation of one

Federal or independent agency in charge of the program. After the British convert by 1973, the United States will be the last major nation and one of only 8 or 9 among all nations in the entire world not using the metric system. (BN200, BN390)

#### Unions

34. Back in 1962, the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy issued a report reiterating principles which our democratic society must follow in order to achieve orderly progress: Automation and technological progress are essential to the general welfare, the economic strength, and the defense of the Nation; and this progress must be achieved without the sacrifice of human values. (BB99)

#### Computers

35. A Gordon and Helmer Delphi panel considered the implications of continued automation in commerce and industry; and an increase by a factor of ten in capital investment in computers used for automated process control.

The respondents mentioned these potential social implications:

Alternatives to work will become important. Education may become an important leisure time pursuit. Expenditures for leisure will increase.

Computers may move into the home, performing services such as keeping books, programming food preparation, ordering supplies, remembering birthdates, etc.

The extension of automated productivity may create a new demand for personal services and handmade products, even mechanical products. Perhaps tomorrow we will prize handmade lawnmowers and automobiles.

Computers will enter and affect private lives. Possible marriage partners may be selected by computer (as is being practiced today, on a small scale), and taxes will be collected and monitored automatically.

It seems clear automation will increase productivity and leisure. How people will use leisure remains unanswered. The spectrum of responses seems to include:

- a. increasing GNP making a better life for all, with acceptable uses found for extra leisure.

b. increasing GNP but with growing national guilt accompanying unproductive leisure.

c. increasing GNP but with an appreciable portion of the population occupied in hedonistic, idle and unproductive pursuits. (BB16)

#### A Range of Predictions on Domestic Problems

36. Politics: The politics of the next decade may be confusing. Big government may decentralize. Presidents are likely to serve one term. Young people may force a lowering of the legal age. By 1980, even the minimum age for senators and governors may drop by five years. (BP143)

37. Change of political institutions will be slow because of entrenched interests and because many businessmen and politicians hold power based on inefficiency, patronage, and the inadequacy of state and local governments. (BB232)

38. Public servants should be equal in competence and imagination to those in private business. (BM159)

39. Increased rationalization of activities for planning, guiding, and controlling the development of cities and regions will place a premium on skills and training. There will be fewer opportunities for the untrained and unskilled in political institutions. (BB232)

#### Potential Impact

40. The complexity of national problems may lead to greater citizen participation in local affairs, as they seek to exert influence on their lives. More influence in local affairs may substitute to some extent for lack of influence in national affairs. (BB232)	Increasing citizen watch-dog attitudes may develop into intervention in ways harmful or embarrassing to the Navy. One aspect is becoming more pronounced: the willingness of persons who have served in government agencies, to reveal documents and procedures which are classified or otherwise unreleasable to the general public, even though the individuals concerned have signed and
41. Governments may see civil-service bureaucrats opposing or ignoring policy decisions they disagree with. (BP143)	

sworn to statements certifying that they will not do so. Some such practices may have to do with aspects of war planning which would be perfectly legitimate in wartime but can be made to sound like horror stories in peacetime. Some of this revelatory compulsion is fostered by opportunities for financial gain or instant fame or moral-superiority posturing. The Navy will want to review its related procedures, including psychological screening of personnel before assignment to such activities.

#### Economy

42. Individuals should have maximum freedom in choice of jobs, goods, and services; centers of economic power should be as diffuse and as balanced as possible, consistent with effectiveness. (BM159)
43. Economic progress will be largely contingent on continued expansion of the American economy. Experts expect the decade to bring: a GNP of \$1.4 trillion, and a growth rate of 4.3-4.4%; 40% rise in personal income; gradual rise in defense spending by the end of the decade, though constituting a lower proportion of GNP than obtains today; and enormous expansion in knowledge and information industries, recreation and entertainment companies, and corporations building homes and apartments. (BP143)
44. Food surpluses will be available; whether the politicians and economists can distribute them all properly is another matter. (BP143)
45. One of the great issues that will have to decide upon in the next twenty years will be the concept of a society in which work is voluntary and at least subsistence income is guaranteed. (BM139)

The future will see arrangements allowing economically and humanely adequate consumption by those who cannot earn enough through their own efforts; there will be more consideration of providing individual subsidies. (BB232)

46. Big Business may encourage executives to become involved in local projects. Workers and management displaced by automation may become involved in social action in the community, gaining pluses for their corporations. (BB232)

47. Socially irresponsible companies will not be able to attract talent. (BP143)

48. Social utility will become a major criterion for investment in the future. (BB232)

49. Institutions may be subject to factory workers demanding that corporate goals mesh with personal goals. (BP143)

Social

50. The intermixing of values, goals, and predictions can be confusing. What should be our national goals at home? This is one answer: The paramount goal should be to guard the rights of the individual, ensure his development, and enlarge his opportunity. (BM159)

51. Inequality, religious prejudice, handicaps to women, and racial discrimination must be recognized as morally wrong and economically wasteful. (BM159)

52. Population is likely to continue to grow and could threaten governments with economic disaster. The government will spend more and more on environment, from city planning to clean engines to an entire new technology. Factories will be closed systems; everything that goes in must come out at the other end as a usable non-polluting product. Man's body wastes will be used as fertilizer. The attitude that all technology is good technology will be changed. (BP143)

53. Life styles will change, as more people seek those with similar outlooks and interests with whom to live. There may be occupational communes. Men will seek personal identity in group identity. (BP143)

54. The most significant trend of the decade may well be a religious revival toward fundamentalism (the counterpart of the Jesus Freaks today). It is also possible that a different trend would emerge, a swing back toward being "square." (BP143)

55. Art will change. Pornography will be taken for granted, for it will no longer have any shock value. The new frontier of shock probably will involve violence and cruelty. (BP143)

56. Experimentation will prevail. Youth will start new institutions because they reject the ones we have now. Education will be for enrichment rather than for skills. Old people will have to go back to school to learn skills. Many of the young will have no interest in acquiring the knowledge needed to run a technological civilization. (BP143)

57. Urban: We should reverse urban decay and control haphazard suburban growth. (BM159)

58. In 1980, 75% of our population will be living in expanding metropolitan areas consisting of core cities and their outlying towns and suburbs. Social problems arising from these cities—transportation, water and land use, air and water pollution, labor and leisure utilization, crime control—will demand changes in political institutions. Familiar city and state criteria may be outmoded for our future society. (BB232)

59. There will be difficulty in applying wide-ranging solutions to the social and economic problems of lower-class groups: whites, blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, etc. The system is not designed to help these people or absorb them smoothly. Low-class groups will bear heavily the economic and psychological consequences of unemployment and disemployment. As low-income groups take over the urban centers, they may elect their own representatives, who will channel funds for their development into the reform programs.

60. The future of blacks is partly uncertain; progress will doubtless occur, but the decisive factor will be the pace of improvement. There could develop urban warfare; or, on the other hand, blacks and low-income whites could unite to achieve economic goals. (BP143)

#### The Rising Significance of Ethics

61. In October 1971, a group of 21 eminent scholars and professionals signed a statement urging that wisdom and ethics—and not just knowledge—become determining factors in conducting technological advances affecting human life. All were participants in a symposium sponsored by the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation. One speaker said that ethical dimensions of technology were being largely ignored by both scientific and medical institutions. (BN310)

#### Potential Impact

62. At the same conference, Herman Kahn offered a startling conclusion:

Now this is very hard for me to say...but the knowledge and technology that are now becoming available are very hard for society to absorb, so we may well need an 'Index of Forbidden Knowledge'... A good deal of genetic engineering looks to me as though one might be better off without it...

The rise of ethical considerations in American life will impact on the Navy in several ways: through general orientations toward war and military activities; through groups which make the Navy one of the targets of their discussions; through young people entering the Navy; and through the self-searching of persons who have served in the Navy for some time.

63. As we noted in the Bio-Medical Section, scientists and doctors, theologians and legislators, and professionals from a number of other disciplines, pondering innovations occurring or expected in the life sciences, are being moved to intense interest in the moral dilemmas that will accompany certain innovations.

Sooner or later, the ethical basis for the existence of the military establishment and military will have to be re-examined, reaffirmed, and re-stated in modern terms. Such reaffirmation will be valid only if accomplished by a broad cross-section of other institutions in American society.

Of particular concern are developments proposed to transplant organs; drugs to alter emotions and behavior; the creation of test-tube babies; and the manipulation of genes to "improve" the human race; and even more bizarre possibilities. Some of the traditional assumptions that underlie, not only biology and medicine but all science and technology, are under attack. It was noted in March 1971 that Congress, research institutes, universities, and individual scientists are formulating ethical questions, debates, courses, and even separate institutes concerned with probing the ethics of approaching dilemmas. (BN289)

#### Domestic Priorities

54. The New York Times, in September 1970, pondered our course:

Science, with the powerful tools it gave us, made us outgrow our little globe. We can foul it up, bury it in garbage, make cesspools out of the oceans, exhaust our resources and wipe ourselves out. The old rules which worked for thousands of years suddenly fail to work. We were whipped overnight into a new world which demands entirely new rules.

#### Potential Impact

Who should make these rules? Our political leaders all come from a bygone age. Our system of representation is antiquated. Science has changed the face of human life but there is not a single scientist in the Senate or Congress. Fifty-five per cent of our nation are women and there is one woman among 100 Representatives; it is almost humorous to see old men discuss and decide the subtle sexual problems of women. While running the new world demands wisdom and knowledge there is but one qualification demanded from Representatives: to be able to get votes. The greatest number of votes can be gained by appealing to the lowest common denominator, which means that the qualities necessary for becoming a leader and being one are mutually exclusive.

The question of representativeness will impact on the Navy in relation to minority representation among the officer corps and among other elements of Navy structures (such as, for example, opportunity to attend the war colleges and to achieve flag rank).

We have little time to readjust. We must understand that mankind has become a single independent unit.

While our President vetoes millions of dollars for health or education but pushes billions through for war and armament, while we add to our humiliations by demonstrating that the human body can be torn up by metal fragments, there is not much sense in life and endeavor. National prestige is in the gifts one can give to mankind and not in the wounds one inflicts.

We should make a sharp turn but our groove is too narrow to allow us to turn. There is too much vested interest. It is our tragedy that while grave problems of the future loom over the horizon we must struggle with the primitive problems of the past, unable to cope with them. We must make a new beginning. (BN483)

65. According to another source, invoking the theory on the Cycle of Generations, the period between 1966 and 1980 will see the nation implementing the new programs established in recent years.

World problems will remain "the primary item on the agenda of the national government."

The black integration problem will continue with intensified state and local efforts.

The problems of a metropolitan society will remain the province of the state and local governments, yet national activity will periodically occur to establish new programs.

By or perhaps before 1980, the enactment of legislation consolidating the changes initiated during the previous reform period will occur, and action will be started to meet the problems of a new generation.

In general, perhaps always, major cultural changes have taken place in human society on a time scale measured in human generations. This limit has resulted in part from the fact that patterns of culture are crystallized in the individual at a very early age; so that a new, more flexible generation is required to accept

Potential Impact

a major innovation and to incorporate it into its culture.

One of the major problems confronting mankind today is that of time scale in relation to social and cultural change. Is there something fundamentally fixed about the time span of a generation? Or are there ways by which human ingenuity can change it so that social and cultural patterns can be modified with dramatic suddenness? (BB51)

66. One important aspect of the dangers which confront us is concerned with the impatience of people to improve their lot. When we take the long view of man's world in the next century, we see that the main problems are less those of technology than they are those of men getting along with other men, communicating with other men, and organizing themselves in such a way that their genius and imagination can be vigorously applied to problems that confront them. Our major problems involve the enriching, enlarging, improving, and mobilizing of our intellectual forces.

As behavioral scientists learn more of the principles of human behavior, we can look forward to the development of better theories of behavior and more precise predictions of future behavior: knowledge of nature, of creative thought process, imagination, intuition, group dynamics, social and political behavior; and means for control of hostile and destructive action. (BB51)

67. David Riesman concluded:  
Any going concern, then, sheds old purposes and acquires new ones perhaps with some of the same resistances that an individual himself present against the discontinuities forced on him by life. In a democratic organization or country, one purpose must therefore be to keep open the possibility of other purposes being discovered, while present avowed purposes become disestablished. (BB57)

## FOREIGN POLICY

1. Consistent with our approach throughout, there is no pretense that this Section presents even the outline of a coherent foreign policy for the United States. As noted at the outset, we have not explored conflict contingencies, foreign area research, or certain other relevant aspects at all. What this Section presents are some highlights of national orientation toward the future that appear in the literature of prediction and that bear on foreign policy.
2. Also, consistent with practice throughout this entire project, we include a number of appraisals and predictions which appear to us to be non-viable and not in American interests (some appear to be not even reasonable interpretations of American interests); but they are included because they are given by prominent specialists and seem to represent a substantial proportion of domestic opinion.

### Domestic Orientations Related to Foreign Policy

3. To David Riesman:

American life in the 1960's seems to me less conformist, less cruel and barbarous, less oppressive of women and minorities, than at any time since the Civil War. It is these very emancipations as they grate against values that are traditional but not really strongly held, that give rise to new waves of fundamentalism in politics, religion, and culture. Where we seem to have fallen short is in the gap between our opportunities and what our best intelligence tells us, and what we are actually able to accomplish. We are responsible for more people inside and outside America than ever before. Yet only a small portion of our greatly expanded educated population feels free enough, detached enough, well-informed enough to respond with independence to our danger and our opportunity. Our European "ancestors" having suddenly if metaphorically, vanished, America finds itself an immensely and terrifyingly strong orphan asked to take charge of the inheritance while still hoping for one last fling. Regrettably--and that is quite a new thing in history at least since the Flood--that fling may be the world's last... (BB286)

4. Riesman's essay,

"The Impact of the Cold War," attests to my belief that American investment in the cold war reflects not only Communist provocation but our domestic search for a new frontier: the availability of communism as the undoubted enemy has provided many Americans, including a good number of liberals, with a useful and justified way to avoid the intricate questions that arise when, for the first time in human history, arduous work is no longer necessary and life no longer needs to be geared primarily to making a living. It has seemed to me that we would not be prepared to make peace and to disarm substantially unless we were simultaneously engaged in other tasks to which we could devote our abundant energies and even our manias. Hence I fear, as well as the nuclear danger, the consequences for American life of coping with that danger primarily by military means. (B8286)

5. In January and April, 1971, Cantril and others, with the support of Potomac Associates, designed and carried out two public opinion studies. The purpose of this effort was to attain a sense of the basic hopes and fears of the American people and to explore their views on such issues as national unrest and the war in Indochina. Interviews were conducted of representative cross sections of the American population by The Gallup Organization.

The highlights of the findings	<u>Potential Impact</u>
are:	Linkages between domestic forces and foreign-policy issues are becoming better understood and included in foreign-policy calculations. In addition, linkages are becoming intensified, as well as more visible. Compartmentalization of domestic and foreign policy issues is no longer possible—if it ever was. National institutions such as the Navy, which are inevitably involved in planning and implementation of various aspects of American foreign policy, will be more constrained to appreciate the limitations imposed on foreign policy by domestic American opinion.
(1) The American people believe their nation is in trouble. They feel that the United States has slid backward over the past five years.	
(2) Public anxiety over the state of the nation focuses particularly on tensions and divisions among its citizens. Almost one in every two Americans sees these tensions as serious enough to "lead to a real breakdown in this country."	
(3) The public does not dismiss this national unrest as simply the work of radicals and troublemakers. Sizable numbers sense systemic causes related to the quality of leadership and the performance of institutions.	

(4) The hopes and fears of the American people about their own lives reflect general satisfaction. There is lessened reference to many traditional material aspirations—a higher standard of living and owning a home, for example—which may indicate overall contentment and assumption of fulfillment of much of the traditional American Dream. At the same time, there is recognition of a new body of concerns—among them threats to political stability, world peace, and the environment, as well as drugs and crime—demanding social rather than individual solutions.

(5) Public opinion toward the Vietnam War has moved dramatically toward disengagement. A clear majority now wants the war ended, even at the risk of an eventual communist takeover of South Vietnam. This sentiment has risen markedly in the last three years and represents a shift since 1968 on the part of one American in four.

(6) Public attitude toward existing and future American commitments abroad is one of caution and selectivity. Although the feeling has grown that the nation should concentrate more on domestic than on international problems, it would be an over-simplification to label this mood "isolationism." Rather, the public is critical and discriminating in assessing foreign commitments; its mood appears to range between noninterventionism and selective interventionism. (BB64)

6. Not much more than a year earlier, Dr. Alexander Heard, advisor to the President on Student Unrest, described the entire student population as "intensely polarized." He said that a large and important segment of the student population embraces a surprising number of students of normally moderate or conservative points of view, who were driven leftward by the Cambodian venture; they are full of integrity and idealism, acutely conscious of their own separate identity, increasingly disaffected by what they regard as official "repression"--including, Dr. Heard noted, "sledgehammer statements by public officials impugning the motives of dissent" and the unresponsiveness of Government to student concerns. (BN488)

7. The following are excerpts from a 1970 memorandum to the President from Dr. Alexander Heard and Dr. James Cheek in reference to student unrest. Whatever may be one's own views towards these sentiments, the sentiments have served as popular expressions of large segments of opinion:

Potential Impact

However one appraises these student views of 1970, the views, or their residues, will continue to exert influence on foreign-policy issues for some years to come. The Navy will be among the organizations that will have to cope with some of these views.

Fifty-eight percent of the students (in a nationwide poll) agreed with a statement that, compared to a year before, the U.S. had a highly repressive society, intolerant of dissent.

The president and some students proceed from vastly different assumptions. The president says, America has never lost a war as if "winning" or "losing" were the important consideration.

He seems to them to hold attitudes, derived from the Cold War, such as the domino theory, and to view Communism in South East Asia as a source of danger of America. Wrongly or rightly, many of our best informed students do not share these assumptions. The president speaks of maintaining "national honor" and implies that this can be done through military power. Students distressed with the failure of their country to achieve all its ambitious ideals think of "national honor" as something yet to be attained.

Rather than emphasize what is good about America, most students emphasize what could be better about America. (BP206)

#### Looking Backward at Foreign Policy

8. Comparisons were inevitably made between two books on foreign policy which appeared at the same time, one by Philip W. Quigg, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the other a report by Secretary of State Rogers. Quigg's book was said to represent the current thinking of the American Establishment on Foreign Affairs, conservative and apologetic about our foreign policy, and critical of youth, Congressmen, and the news media for being unappreciative of a generation of civil servants who have spared us total nuclear devastation. The critic concluded that Quigg's book was a self-protective prescription for officials running for cover.

Roger's book, on the other hand, was said to be refreshing. A detailed survey of American relations with 132 foreign countries, it admits past mistakes and promises reforms. Rogers believes the United States should cast off the heritage of World War II, lower its voice and profile, and find a new place in the world. He hopes that the divisions of the 1960's will be overcome in the 1970's, but realizes that differences of opinion will continue. (BN92)

9. From a report by Ithiel Pool on the discussions of the working group on international systems up to the end of the century the working group discussed

the willingness of the American public to commit its resources abroad in different parts of the world:

One view was that the Vietnam war and similar efforts will make the American public unwilling to commit manpower and treasure to remote corners of the world as readily in the future as we seem to be doing today, especially on the continent of Asia. The contrary view was that we will feel an increasing obligation to be the world policeman. There was a correspondingly sharp difference of opinion on the issue of how much money the American public was likely to be willing to commit to international activities. None of us, interestingly enough, expected a very massive increase in armament expenditures. One view held that there would be enormous political pressure to reduce armament expenditures, while the other considered that they were likely to remain at the present level. This would, in effect, constitute a marked decrease in the arms burden as national income goes up, which is already happening with strategic weapons. This latter view would expect R & D expenditures to remain at levels comparable to those today and expenditures for limited war to remain high. (BP416)

10. E. V. Rostow wrote in December, 1965:

The United States has now occupied the role of chief policeman for the free world for about twenty years. The present posture is manifestly unstable. The U. S. is becoming politically restless under the burden of peace-keeping, especially where the military efforts required to assure stability must be carried out unilaterally and not in the name of the U.N., NATO, or some other agency whose vote can be described as an invocation of "collective security." The European nations and Japan, fully recovered from the war, are torn between their desire to participate in the process of world politics and the attractions of irresponsibility. They are protected by the deterrent force of American military power; they are free to criticize U.S. diplomacy; and they are not required to devote great fractions of their national income to military expenditure.

11. The eminent historian Henry Steele Commager published these opinions:

American administrations ignore history and experience, in that, secrecy defeats itself. The military cannot be trusted with responsibility for national policies. The government dwarfs men into instruments of power, and small men do not accomplish great things. The United States lives a double standard of national and international conduct. (BN548)

Commager quotes with approval Nathan Pusey's proposals:

End the Vietnam War; get out of Southeast Asia, Korea, and the Philippines; abandon overseas bases, except NATO; limit the arms race; defend the Middle East, India, and Caribbean trouble spots; and restore civilian control of the military, and the balance between the Executive and the Legislature. (BN548)

Commager amends these proposals by adding his own:

Get out of Germany; get the Navy out of the Mediterranean and end the power game; do not rearm the Japanese; make the Pentagon a responsible institution; improve Congressional quality; and end the promulgation of the "chosen people" image of Americans. (BN548)

12. We have cited the foreign proposals for the future not because we think highly of them, but because they are advanced by eminent, respectable Americans, and because they represent a large body of current American opinion on foreign policy with which public officials, including the Navy, must cope. In a sense, they sound like, "Stop the world! I want to get off!" In a more fundamental sense, they represent the schizophrenic demand: "The United States must stop exerting forceful influence in the world. At the same time, the United States must stop other countries from presenting problems."

#### Looking Forward at Foreign Policy

13. Professor Samuel Huntington hypothesizes that in the year 2000 the American world system that has been developed during the last 20 years will be in a state of disintegration and decay. Just as American influence has replaced European influence during the current period, so also during the last quarter of this century American power will begin to wane, and other countries will move in to fill the gap. Unlike the end of European empire (which was relatively peaceful), the decline of American influence will involve numerous struggles, because the relationship between the rising powers and the U.S. will be much less close (in terms of values and culture) than was the relation between the U.S. and the European powers; and because there will be fewer common interests against a third power than existed when the U.S. and Europe stood against the Soviet Union. The struggles

accompanying the disintegration of the American world order will have profoundly stimulating effects on political development in the participating states. These struggles are, indeed, likely to play a major role in generating national cohesion and institutional development. (BP416)

14. Rostow produced three premises-predictions about American international policy.

(1) Effective, forceful, and conciliatory American policy organizes, through the United Nations and otherwise, a strong coalition of the industrialized free nations, including Japan and India, to stabilize world politics and conduct policies of detente and peaceful co-existence with China and the Soviet Union. On this footing, the free industrialized nations would have the primary burden of protecting the Third World and of supplying it with the capital, entrepreneurship, education, and skills needed to assure its economic development. (BP416)

(2) A tacit or not-so-tacit understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union seeks stability and peace by efforts to maintain nuclear bipolarity and dual hegemony of the kind made manifest at Suez and again recently during the war between India and Pakistan... Coupled with the first premise, it could lead to a most dangerous division of the world by color (unless India and Japan are firmly included in the American coalition). (BP416)

(3) Weak and flaccid American policy leads to an American withdrawal from the mainland of Asia; Japan then reaches accommodation with China and becomes the energizing force of a program that would make China and Japan together the masters of Asia... However the system of world politics is organized, a vast industrial complex based on a pooling of Chinese and Japanese skills, resources, and energies is probable during the next generation... its political impact could be cohesive, not divisive. (BP416)

15. Another prediction is that the present internal problems in the United States are weakening our international situation and will encourage aggression; this will lead to counter-activism and thus, through a negative feedback process,

Potential Impact

Among other linkages between domestic and foreign policy, it will be important that America eliminate any remaining vestiges of racial discrimination at home. Most of the rest of the world is non-white, and our relations, to be successful, must clearly be conducted without race or color bias by Americans. Accordingly, the Navy and all other agencies that may represent America abroad will be constantly seeking ways to eliminate even the appearance of race discrimination.

reestablish internal consensus. This trend will probably diminish in the 1980's. (BM94)

16. Another prediction is that there will be a stronger "fortress USA" tendency, with ABM defense and retaliation doctrine, accompanied by some withdrawal from world affairs. This trend will increase in strength until about 1980, when it will begin to diminish in strength. (BM94)

17. An official State Department forecast of certain aspects of the state of international relations in 1980 was provided in a quiet speech in early June, 1972 by Under Secretary of State John N. Irwin, 2d. The points made were later said by State Department officials to represent "the best thinking in the Department." Among a number of predictions, these stand out:

- . The bipolarity of the cold war has given way to changing constituencies and groupings on different issues.
- . Growing international organizations, regional government groupings, and international business corporations will have moderating effect on the behavior of countries.
- . The relative power and dominance of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will decline.
- . All nations will have to get along with the new emerging power centers in Western Europe, Japan, and China.
- . In the Third World, economic nationalism in the form of opposition to foreign investment will probably generate continued confrontations, as well as serious problems for the United States and its allies as the West's needs for raw materials increase. (B528)

18. A Naval War College study group constructed three plausible basic scenarios for the remaining quarter century. No prediction was reached as to which will predominate; in fact, a mixture is probable:

- (1) World-wide withdrawal: major nations turn inward under pressure of internal problems.

Potential Impact

These changes add up to a substantial revision in America's future world role. In reorienting America and its representatives to revised roles, the government will require changes in certain Navy activities related to international affairs—changes not only in official, professional procedures, but also in social, cultural, and informal relations.

(2) Cooperative world: intensify international cooperation.

(3) Conflictual world: interstate conflict.

Two basic facts are relevant: the United States under severe pressures from a number of internal sources, has instituted the process of withdrawal and retreat from international involvement. How far will this movement proceed?

The U.S.S.R., which is showing some interest in accommodation on some issues, continues to build military strength and to involve itself in many new areas of the world. Will the U.S.S.R. probe United States strength? The danger period will probably be the mid-1970's. (BM95)

19. Allison and others project three future situations listed in order of declining likelihood of possible intervention by the United States:

- a. overt aggression committed against an ally with which the United States has treaty commitments.
- b. aggressor committed against a non-ally.
- c. internal disorder.

These analysts reiterate that the United States has no commitment to preserve any internal national regime. They also expect that, in some societies, internal violence will be necessary for modernization. These analysts advocate a strong Administration presumption against intervention in cases of internal disorder or subversion, even when there is outside encouragement and aid. (BP7)

20. Expectations about American willingness to intervene will be only one factor in the decision of disaffected citizens to rebel, or revolutionaries to fight on, and of regimes like those in Peking or Hanoi to support aggression beyond their frontiers. The factors that determine a choice to pursue revolution and insurgency are overwhelmingly local, and the factors that bear on a government's decision to support insurgency beyond its borders turn on a large number of considerations, other than likely American reactions. Therefore, there will be an uncertain effect, even from American statements about United States intentions regarding intervention. (BP7)

## Food and Less Developed Nations

21. The United States is currently feeding 200 million Americans, plus about 60 million Indians, plus about 100 millions elsewhere in the world, with a farm population of only 6% of its total population. Success has been achieved in the operation by the family of the freehold farm, in the government's role in research and training, and in government's price support, warranting investment in irrigation, equipment, etc.

All of the American agricultural increase since the 1930's has been in yield per acre (total acreage has declined).

The United States is self-sufficient in all principal items except coffee (all), cocoa (all), and sugar (50%). Alga and soy products resemble meats, cheeses, and other staples to such an extent as to warrant expectations of common use by 2000. (RG2)

22. Increases in yield per acre, expected between 1940 and 2000:

wheat double	Feed grains triple	cotton triple	hay double +
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Amount of United States croplands available: 470 million acres (could be increased)

	1960	1980	2000
Cropland excess for crops	102	102	58 m.acres
Cropland required for pasture	79	75	52
Cropland in excess of crop and pasture needs	23	27	6

The oceans remain the one great untapped food source; probably no great strides will be reached by 2000. Yeast cultures can be developed for livestock, releasing cropland used for grazing.

The United States is the only major nation with a food surplus. China was self-sufficient in food production in the early 1950's, at the time of the invasion of South Korea; now China must import 5-6 million tons, using up 40% of total export earnings. The U.S.S.R. is unable to provide grains to nations in Eastern Europe. Thus, the United States is the principal nation able

to provide food under assistance programs; it would be myopic to ignore this relationship to the strengthening of American foreign policy. (BG2)

23. Riesman observes:

The traditional American ideology which is concerned only with equality of economic and political opportunity and freedom from control—in other words with the major problems of scarcity alone—must readjust to face the problems that have suddenly become visible because of abundance: lack of participation in life and lack of opportunity and education for self-expression. Once these problems can be faced, a people of plenty may be able to use its power for helping other people toward economic prosperity (as an essential step toward further difficult alternatives.) (BB286)

#### Multinational Corporations

24. Among complex international interrelationships, it should be noted that the United States is the world's leading sponsor of multinational enterprises. There are now about 200 large American parent companies with heavy overseas commitments in manufacturing and raw materials extraction, probably accounting for 1/3 of all manufacturing sales in the United States, 6-8% in other advanced countries and 10-12% in less developed countries. (BM147)

25. Professor H. V. Perlmutter predicted in 1965 that by 1988 the bulk of the world's noncommunist trade will be dominated by 300 large companies, of which 200 will be American. (BM147)

26. On February 5 - 7, 1972, there was conducted a White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead: A Look at Business in 1990. Among a number of predictions, several concerning trade predicted that by 1980, trade with the Communist countries, especially China, might increase by factors of 10 or more.

#### Potential Impact

Many of the developments cited here will naturally impact on the Navy. Various aspects are commented on in other Sections of this report, principally the International Section. However, as noted at the outset, we do not attempt to trace impacts of specific foreign-policy developments except in a few selected instances.

27. The Communist movement is dead, although the 1970's may see some 4 or 5 minor communist movements. The European community will be run by a generation that remembers World War II and the Cold War as only passages in history books. The Third World faces tribalism, while the Arab-Israeli conflict could turn into a new hundred-years war. Finally, an American inward-turning to solve our domestic problems could be healthy for foreign policy. The United States position and power in the world can be maintained only by improving our society.

28. Changes in foreign-aid philosophy that may change our relationship with some underdeveloped nations and alter the role and viewpoints of youth:

1. The American population may not consume at a rate necessary to keep unemployment at an acceptable low level if there are both increased productivity and a large unskilled low-paid young working-age population. In this case, the United States government might stimulate the American economy by buying excess goods and giving them to underdeveloped nations.

2. Certain underdeveloped nations or regions may become show cases in the economic Cold War. This new form of aid may be used by both the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the next ten years. Underdeveloped nations in this category would probably have dictatorial governments which make it easier to implement development programs. Thus, the United States would be supporting some non-democratic nations, politically, while the U.S.S.R. would be supporting some democratic nations. Situations like the Indo-Pakistan conflict, where the United States backed non-democratic Pakistan against democratic India may be repeated. (BB232)

29. The gulf between the concerned and the indifferent will grow, as the general public becomes isolated from the complex details of the issues. The United States may become a garrison state, with heavy emphasis on civil -defense training, as threats and security needs reach a critical point. (BB232)

Potential Impact

One aspect warrants comment: the danger of the American public's becoming, not only indifferent, but also misinformed about foreign-policy issues. It has been demonstrated in recent years that various domestic groups, as well as foreign interests, develop, for reasons of their own, superficial and distorted reactions to particular issues, which they are then able to disseminate via the media with

30. The balance in favor of extensive arms control and disarmament could be shifted quickly if there were an accidental or deliberate explosion of a nuclear weapon which destroys a city but does not initiate all-out war. The horror and terror generated may be sufficient to provide a context for the undertaking of accelerated arms-control programs.

(BB232)

31. Europe and the United States face the same trends in problems and opportunities, such as experimenting with metropolitan districts and regional methods for dealing with urban problems. There will be pressures towards deep formal interdependence of nations, such as European unity. Because of the growth of European unity, as well as other regional groupings, there will be a gradual reduction of the United States status and role as the pre-eminent power of the West. Our role at the U.S. will change in relation to U.S. decisions that with our national interests. These decisions will arise out of differences between ourselves and our allies in economic and political purposes.

Differentiation between power blocs will diminish, as Europe becomes more independent and the U.S.S.R. becomes more consumer-oriented and willing to tolerate a greater degree of dissent. (BB232)

32. Mutually rewarding joint economic growth programs will increase. Many will be spearheaded by multi-national corporations. Values and feelings about national allegiance and sovereignty will become more differentiated and less matters of reflex chauvinism. Men will work for the welfare of men, rather than for the welfare of states.

considerable influence. The Navy will be interested in the dissemination of accurate data and balanced analyses.

Potential Impact

Large-scale political changes involving European unity may generate changes in military arrangements of international scope. For example, the Navy may experience pressures for changes in NATO structures and procedures, such as the American identification with the post of SACLANT, and others.

Problem-oriented viewpoints will be emphasized via widespread and frequent use of mass communications systems. (BB232)

33. Living outside the United States will become more common in the future, because of cheaper travel arrangements and the nation's having more money available to participate in foreign-aid programs and university exchange programs, as well as business and industrial ventures.

The quest for novelty and adventure will attract more people to international travel. For those with sensitivity and education, this travel will point up the deep difference in living standards between the United States and the underdeveloped countries. These experiences will weaken traditional values in some and strengthen them in others. Many will regard foreign countries as a diversion and nothing more. A few will develop a broader sense of the common strengths and weaknesses of humanity. The kinds of influences exerted by foreign travel will be about the same, but more people will experience them. This travel could produce an awareness in people here of the acceptance of different life styles and their legitimacy. This acceptance may reduce support for extremist and chauvinistic perspectives at home. (BB232)

34. People preoccupied with youth problems will see that some of the most successful experiments in youth development are under way in the developing nations, where youth plays a major and decisive role in planning and implementing programs. Leadership in many of these nations is youthful. This could encourage imaginative experiments in youth development here.

Expansion of trade and the use of new consumer items may produce greater people-to-people interdependence in the world.

Increasing cultural exchange could produce a greater sense of world community.

As African and Asian nations express national intentions in terms of their native secular and religious values, there will be a gradual change in our minds of standards of conduct, belief, and values based on the Judeo-Christian traditions. Technicians and managers from all societies will hold similar standards

because they have similar problems, means and goals. The youth are more likely to lead this trend. (BB232)

35. There will develop numerous work opportunities abroad for those with the appropriate training, personalities, and aspirations.

Activities of nations will influence the values and beliefs of some Americans about the nature of man, government, human rights, and progress, and whether the American solutions to these problems are applicable to the underdeveloped nations. In short, they will cause us to question our ways of doing things.

Undeveloped nations will influence the pursuit of our national purposes by challenging our willingness to consider the national interest of nations outside the "Big Power" complex. We will be increasingly challenged to justify our ways of doing things, and will have to interact with nations which have no experience of interaction with regard to American national interests. (BB232)

36. The Naval War College study examined possible new or revised roles for the Navy:

	<u>Potential Impact</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• service in regional and international peacekeeping forces (most challenging)</li><li>• enforcement of international agreements for development and protection of ocean resources</li><li>• deep ocean search and rescue</li><li>• underwater navigational aids</li><li>• policing of international agreements on ocean pollution in a "Cooperative World" (to some extent, also in "Worldwide Withdrawal")</li><li>• larger role in social action</li><li>• possibly conduct training and development programs in the United States to ease civilian unemployment</li><li>• use of technology and skills in nation-building, and in other international development and educational programs. (BM95)</li></ul>	Most of these roles, if they were to materialize, would have substantial impacts on many Navy activities concerned with people and organization, such as in enforcement of international agreements for development and protection of ocean resources. A larger Navy role in social action is discussed elsewhere.

37. The same study considered various implications for the Navy of the future international context:

Top priority: The maintenance of force in being. Research and development, and other activities, will receive lesser priorities. Traditional roles will continue. The Navy's responsibilities for surveillance and intelligence will increase in all three possible future "worlds." Meanwhile, American overseas bases will decline, regardless of world conditions. (BM95)

38. Perhaps one of the most impressive measures of changed American perceptions of its role in the future world was Secretary of State Rusk's statement of American views toward the concept of national sovereignty, included in a speech in Brussels on May 9, 1964:

Rusk declared that absolute national sovereignty had become outmoded in the nuclear era; he said that the United States simply cannot understand the revival of the notion of absolute independence in dealing with affairs within the free world. America, he continued, accepted the fact that postwar events had led it to assume commitments that rigorously circumscribed its sovereignty and freedom of action. (BS32)

PART III

Section 8

DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS

DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS  
GENERAL AND POLITICAL

1. In continuing our effort to trace the impacts of future change on the Navy, we recognize that many effects will not be exercised directly but through other channels of influence. In the previous section, we attempted to trace impacts through National Orientations. In this section, we continue this effort, by attempting to trace impacts through more or less formal institutions. For example, some impacts of change in the American educational system will affect the Navy directly, and some through changes in American values, but many others will affect the Navy only via educational institutions, and some through various combination-channels involving several kinds of institutions.

2. We therefore take up this section, Effects on Domestic Institutions, at this point in the sequence of data presentation, and subdivide the data under these subheadings:

General and Political  
Economic, Labor, and Education Systems  
Legal, Social and Other Institutions  
Press and Other Media

3. In approaching potential change among American political institutions, it is well to remember, as Sheldon and Moore have pointed out, that the United States has the oldest written constitution, the oldest continuous two-party system, and the oldest sequence of peaceful elections in world history. These elements are not expected to change. Such analysts as Moynihan and Bell predict that the structures of our executive, legislative, and judicial branches will remain pretty much the same for the next thirty years.

4. However, there will be an expanding future role of government — in the cost of services; in the extent to which collectively-made decisions will be replacing private choices; and in the extent to which society's resources will be administered by the government. A "Service State" is emerging, oriented to the

well-being of the citizen.

Among changes in motion, the role of the Executive, the Presidency, has expanded the most. New power centers are rising to rival economic centers, e.g., education, military, Big Science. For example, education is the largest single employer, and the largest single investor of capital. The United States does not have a young population, like India and Latin America (some average age 15); but the United States is young in the sense of national history. Half of Americans are less than 27.3 years old; the middle group (27-50) is underrepresented. (BM34)

5. There is occurring a large shift from an older to a younger element in age, outlook, perception, and formative experience. This movement is generally ascribable to the most recent decades of American experience, in which "normal" conditions included many years of international involvement, advanced education, high job security, affluence, intense personal involvement, and increasing dominance of science and technology. This move is accompanied by a disorderly political shift, including dissent, partisanship, passion and sudden political landslides which bury familiar figures. There is neither apathy nor consensus. The following will be some aspects of the coming political environment: increasing educational levels may change the character of political campaigns, and perhaps the use of the instant referendum may change voting patterns. This will be related to computer access to library information and electronic voting on certain issues. Bloc voting may gain entry into political power by blacks and other minorities. There is increasing division between interests of the core cities and their suburbs. On the whole, despite highly visible rhetoric about "repressive society," gradual progress is being made toward participatory pluralism, widening and deepening the scope of democracy in American life. (BM34)

6. Centralization is occurring in some aspects of the political scene:

- More persons and groups are participating in the development of centralized goals and objectives; once arrived at, the objectives are decentralized in execution. Centralization has difficulty coping with the flexibility, complexity,

and speed of change.

- Decentralization is at work in France, Italy, USSR, and other countries, though mainly in administration, not politics.
- The United States is by far the most politically decentralized nation in the Western World. There are over 80,000 governmental sub-units. Political power is generally passing upward in the United States, while administrative autonomy is being decentralized.
- Some accountability to a higher level is a vital necessity if decentralization is to achieve its own goals. (BB29)

7. The American tradition of noncentralized government will continue, meaning that the ultimate control over many programs will remain vested in the local community, even while federal and state governments set standards, provide funds, and stimulate local activity. (BB242)

8. One analyst probes the hidden crisis in American politics: How to deal with rapid change as the prime political disturber of our time. This change manifests itself in the crises we constantly face over racism, air pollution, crime, the generation gap, and resistance to the Vietnam war. The hidden crisis is our inability to reconcile these conflicts. He holds that eight points of departure from the old politics stand out:

- (1) the quickness with which an unresolved crisis becomes a conflict;
- (2) these conflicts have plunged us into zealous combat to remake American thinking;
- (3) the battling is directed largely at our social institutions — schools, draft, police, church, etc.;
- (4) we are not sure which of the self-correcting strengths of American democracy still prevail;
- (5) there has been a crisis of management, of a managed society;
- (6) A new element of political bargaining has come into being, in the struggle for political visibility, to make oneself seen and heard;

(7) we seem to be losing the ability to moderate and compromise the conflicts that divide us;

(8) the effectiveness of our foreign policy has come to hinge on domestic conciliation. We seem to be intensifying conflict and weakening our powers of reconciliation. (BN529)

9. Huntington predicts that the decline of American influence will tend to undermine and disrupt American politics. The American political system could be less likely than that of the Fourth Republic to adjust successfully to the "loss of empire." (BP416)

10. Frederick G. Dutton says in Changing Sources of Power that a power shift is occurring in American politics, because of the 18-year-old vote, declining registration in the two major parties, the alienation of youth, and the prospects of a third or fourth party. Young voters will become more activist, thrusting their presence into all facets of national life. The farm vote will die out, as more people move into urban areas. Organized labor is no longer a major election force; rather it is a lobbying group. (BN42)

Some Current Political Manifestations

ii. Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, in The Real Majority, warn that the label of elitism and the political poison it connotes, may be moving from the Republicans to the Democratic left. They maintain that the National Democratic Convention may be controlled by the militants and party activists on the Left, only to be repudiated by the voters in the general election. To be successful, the convention must listen to the progressive

Potential Impact

Much of the political activism predicted for the young may accompany future entrants into the Navy, as some seek to expand their political activities while in uniform — or even in ways which exploit the uniform.

voices of the center.

They chide the liberals for arguing that social turmoil is of major concern when expressed by intellectuals as alienation and future shock, but for viewing blue-collar demands for law and order as something unclean and fit for use only by demagogues.

The Democratic Left appears to be in opposition to much of what many in America hold dear: social order, social stability, patriotism, and a rising standard of living. (BN342)

12. A view from another perspective is that of Morphet and Ryan: "Much of government and public policy in America has been captured by narrow interest groups, spearheaded by some of the private associations we praise so highly." Examples might include: the NRA attempt; the American Farm Bureau Federation; the National Rivers and Harbors Congress; the National Petroleum Council and the Department of the Interior; the American Bankers Association, Government Economic Committee, and the Treasury Department; the Securities and Exchange Commission, and private clubs regulating themselves. (BB242)

13. In addition, they point to state practices of using professional groups to regulate entry or licensing into their own profession (e.g., the American Medical Association). (BN519)

Potential Impact

Interest groups are not likely to decline in American politics, but are more likely to increase and multiply. The orientation of many new entrant-groups, however, is likely to be involved in consumer advocacy and accountability demands. The Navy will continue to be affected by groups pursuing the objective of transforming conditions of Navy life into exact counterparts of civilian life.

14. A portent of political orientation is contained in the Annual Survey of incoming college freshmen by the American Council of Education. These were the 1970 responses:

	Current Political Preference		Expected Preference in 4 Years	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Far Left	3.7	2.4	4.6	3.2
Liberal	35.1	31.5	39.3	42.1
Middle of Road	42.0	49.4	31.4	31.1
Conservative	18.0	16.1	22.3	21.7
Far Right	1.3	.6	2.4	1.8
				(BM3)

15. A Gallup Poll found that less than 5% of our population hold favorable attitudes toward extremist groups, such as KKK and SDS. The results were the same as those of a similar 1965 poll. (BNI88)

16. Skedqell has made a pertinent review of certain analytical techniques involved in the VPA (Vote Profile Analysis). The CBS News, Louis Harris, the IBM election-analysis system, and the other vote-projection systems were born of the need to fill the information vacuum existing between the time the polls close and the tabulation of sufficient votes to indicate an election trend.

VPA's critics, both professional and lay, have held that it is a divisive force on the body politic; that to report elections in terms of how the various ethnic and religious groups perform is an unhealthy, not to say un-American, approach. It is demonstrable, however, that these groups do behave in voting patterns. Another widespread charge leveled at computerized voting projections is that they influence voters in those sections of the country where polls remain open later; that citizens in the Western states either change their vote to join the so-called bandwagon as reported from the East Coast, or simply decide not to vote at all. However, a study conducted found that not more than 2% of those interviewed switched their vote, and those last-minute changes that did occur followed no discernible pattern. (BB233)

17.

Power shifts predicted for the 1970's and 1980's include these:

- A continued Democratic majority is forecasted through 1980, yet with lessening support base.
- During the 1980's a set of critical elections will likely elevate a new party to majority status (a reconstituted Republican party, or a really new party).
- The Republicans should win the presidency once or twice by capitalizing on some particular individual with national appeal.

Republicans will probably gain power at the state levels, and these new governors will be open to new programs with long-range gains. (BB242)

#### The Youth Vote

18.

The youth vote could add 25 million people to the rolls in 1972, resulting in a considerable impact, particularly where there are concentrations, as in university towns. (BN497)

#### Potential Impact

Concentrations of voters on large military bases may not be neglected. This might pose somewhat delicate problems for base commanders, depending upon the situation locally and the terms of "access" to sponsorship of political meetings.

19.

In the past, reports the Census Bureau, young Americans of voting age have not been as likely to vote as older persons. In the November 1970 congressional elections, for example, about 30% of persons under 24 and of voting age reported they had voted, as compared with 58% of persons 25 years of age or older. (BG63)

20.

Judging from past performance in four states which have had under-21 voting, the turnout of 18-20 year olds will be low, probably lower than that of the rest of the population. In Kentucky, Georgia, Alaska, and Hawaii only 33% of the eligible persons under 21 voted in the presidential election of 1968. There was a 51% turnout nationwide among 21-24 year olds, and a 70%

turnout nationwide among those 25 and older. (BN561)

21. Dr. Kingman Brewster, President of Yale, warned politicians that they are dealing with the new phenomenon on the political scene. He described the student voter as being skeptical, scornful of the political huckster, yet fair and openminded to the truth. He described the student voter as more concerned with opportunity than welfare on the domestic scene, and, on the international scene, more concerned with the fate of humanity at large than their predecessors were. They regard America as fallible in what she does but of great redeeming quality. They are willing to work for the common good, provided that the fruits of their labor guarantee a minimal decency and freedom.

Brewster worried about the cynicism of the young, conditioned by the turbulent times in which we live — times that have seen treaty alliances crumble and shift, the impotence of the American effort in Southeast Asia, the loss of confidence in the economy, and similar events. However, he remains optimistic about the student role. (BN235)

22. Senator Charles M. Mathias urges students to serve as the gadflies of society, questioning everything that elected representatives do and then combining the questioning with political action — with active work to achieve political objectives. The only way the political process can respond to the citizen's needs is for each individual to actually work in the process to make it change. If he does not, the process will either ignore him or work for others who are participating. (BN584)

23. The town of Amherst, Massachusetts, typified one early dilemma involving the site of student voting. Residents of Amherst (population 6,000) are outnumbered by student voters (21,000) who are part-time residents and non-tax paying, and who could gain political control of the town. Some student

Potential Impact

The example of Amherst may serve as a prototype of pressures for political participation in local affairs in the proximity of military bases — not necessarily involving persons who live on the bases (although that, too, is possible) but primarily the persons who

voters seem to realize some limits of their roles — not participating, for example, in matters of public schools because they have no children in the schools. But most emphasize their right to vote in their college town because of personal concerns while there, and in order to represent the interest of future student populations, jus' as a resident might be considered to be voting for the future interest of his own child.

One radical student group threatened the Amherst Town Council; but more moderate students expected to elect only some town officials, seeing their role as a limited one in cooperation with local residents. (BN369)

#### Federal, State, and Local Government

24. Moynihan suggests two governmental themes for the last third of this century:

1) "Wedding Cake federalism": a multi-tiered system of bureaucracies and governmental units.

(2) Increased emergence of "special purpose" governments, some created by the Federal government. (BP416)

25. Morphet and Ryan assume that all governments will continue to grow in size, expenditures, and scope of activities; that legislatures will attempt to devise means to oversee agencies; and that there will be a greater emphasis on the use of trained professionals within the bureaucracy.

"The States will have to act constantly and with greater vigor to maintain their traditional position as the 'leys' ones in the American governmental arch." They will have to act like central governments, and use resources to good advantage.

are assigned to the base but live in surrounding civilian communities.

It must be realized, for example, that California and New York, even in 1967, were more populous than all but a dozen of the world's sovereign nations and had larger budgets than all but five of them. California alone maintains an educational plant larger than that of any foreign country except the Soviet Union. (BB242)

26. The Federal Government must begin to modify its functions so that it is increasingly in the business of providing funds and consultation, as well as serving as a catalyst to stimulate changes both in other layers of government and in the private sector. If the Federal Government becomes a stimulant to the process of planning it is clear that there will be parallel changes in the state, regional, and local levels. (BP416)

27. Traditional concepts of federalism are being challenged by notions of pluralism, whereby great national associations or corporations are given responsibilities that might, in previous times, have been allocated to state or local governments; e.g., the use of private industries to run Job Corps Centers, and large corporations which are seeking federal alternative contracts to defense contracts. (BB242)

28. Political "sharing" will be important in the future and will increase. The amount of sharing of planning powers will grow in absolute terms, without, however changing the basic degree of sharing. Regional arrangements will increase. This means an increase in subnational planning, and joint policy-making at the beginning of new programs between the Federal governments and the states.

29. Rosenthal holds that urbanization proceeds so rapidly that metropolitan governments will not suffice. But to decentralize directly would lead to chaos. The need is for broad regional governments. (BNI04)

30. Morphet and Ryan  
insist that there are aspects in which  
growth and change are necessary for

Potential Impact  
Various administrative  
relationships of the Navy may become

orderly and desirable metropolitan areas — for example, as in Toronto and London. Local forms of government may continue for local functions; but metropolitan-area-wide government would handle large-scale functions, such as transportation, land-use control, location of industry, and higher education.

(BB242)

31. One of Gordon and Helmer's Delphi responses considered it at least 50% likely, if 80% of the population of the United States were living in cities, that these city cores may become political entities in themselves. For example, an integrated building may have its own mayor, police force, fire service, library, etc.

32. One prediction holds that the coming rapid transfer of knowledge, advancing analytical methods, and communications and coordination, all make planning feasible. Deliberate planning and management of the American future will become widespread, with the planner eventually displacing the lawyer as the key social legislator and manipulator. (BM43,95)

more complex in dealing with multi-tiered or multi-faceted agencies, such as over land use, location of bases, use of port facilities, and other activities.

#### Potential Impact

The rise in importance of the planner, if it occurs, will have significance for the personnel of the Navy and the other services, in view of the extensive planning expertise accumulated by many military officers over years.

#### Interaction Between Technology and Democratic Government

33. Technology is responsible for political change by transforming American society from one type to another type. Political structures serving one type of society are different from those serving another type. Example: A local political structure serving a rural agrarian economy is different from one serving an urban, industrial economy.

In reference to technology and political structure, the characteristics of Post-Industrial Society are seen to be:

(1) Technology and organizations will be regulated by public machinery, rather than by market forces.

(2) Planning will assume greater importance as a necessary criterion for efficiency; there will be fewer chances for individual mistakes.

(3) There will be greater social complexity, characterized by the pre-eminence of the professional and technical class and the centrality of theoretical knowledge as the source of innovation and policy formulation in society.

(BM69)

34. The necessary complexity of decisions facing the governmental structure, the collection and storing of information has become a problem because the process of collection, storage, and dissemination of information confers power on the person or group that executes these functions: Pooling of information raises problems of loss or gain of authority among agencies if their information is pooled and they have no control over it. Moreover, consolidation of information tends to elevate one group, the one which holds and controls the information, over another.

At the Federal level, the problem is invasion of privacy and the growth of an organization which rests on information as the source of power. If power rests on information, then the right to information becomes significant; one way of diffusing this situation of power resting on information is to allow all citizens to have access to the data. This could raise the spectre of citizens having access to information that might undermine governmental justification for inaction; information might be used by dissenting groups to exert political pressure for a redistribution of resources. Furthermore, the overriding fear that society will be dominated by technical experts is not indicated by the available evidence. Systems analysis is basically a management tool, and the technical expert is told to solve problems whose ends have been determined by the political decision-makers. Often

technical answers to social questions are politically infeasible, in which cases the "expert" will see his solutions gathering dust on some shelf. Political rationality often dictates that the most feasible technical solution not be adopted because it is politically unworkable. (BM69)

35. Furthermore, technical problem-solving is often easier than solving social problems. In fact, our great success with solving technical problems comes at the expense of ignoring social problems and failing to control the use of technology. Increasingly, many feel that some sort of "technical assessment" is necessary where the social costs and benefits of technology could be determined and appraised.

Weinberg suggests that we use "technological fixes" to solve social problems. These would be designed to allow us time to attack the underlying causes of social problems. Examples include: the production of a safe cigarette, which is an easier solution to smoking than complete abstention, or building electric cars rather than enforcing anti-pollution laws. (BM69)

36. Hoos and Walt examine the results of California experience in hiring aerospace industries for systems analysis of state problems. Both critics state that systems-analysis answers were technically "apt" but politically "naive."

Potential Impact

There may arise within the Navy a more focused effort to appraise the social costs and benefits to the Navy of technology in a number of perspectives. One useful perspective involves the computer: whether the speed, accuracy, and other features of the computer exact social costs in eliminating the reassurance, say, of human interchange in dealing with "people problems."

In addition, state agencies may be too inexperienced to monitor systems analysis effectively; the time spans for many programs are longer than the life of the administration involved, so that planning and funding are uncertain. (BM69)

37. Schlesinger: - There is a danger that the language rather than the spirit of systems analysis will be adopted. There is some inconsistency between the rationality of politics and the rationality of systems analysis. Politics has a short-run view committed to the appearance of effort, and is concerned with reactions of various interest groups.

Systems analysis has a long-run view, and involves careful calculation of resources required to implement real alternatives. It is most important to realize that no analysis can bridge the gap between irreconcilable objectives.

Wildavsky: - The new techniques rely on economic rationality and ignore "political rationality." A cost-benefit analysis conceals value judgements. (BM69)

38. Most analysts of the decision-making process do not believe that we are tending toward a technocracy.

Nieburg: - Scientists are assimilated into the practices of traditional politics. Their influence over public policy is nebulous and difficult to measure, but they have not possessed inordinate amounts of public influence.

Roszak believes that the American political system is a technocratic one...Scientific method and technical rationality are viewed as encroaching on humanitarian democratic values, as the result of contradiction between democracy and secular rationality. (BM69)

39. Lane : - Our political domain is shrinking because knowledge assumes a greater role in terms of criteria for decisions, kinds of counsel, evidence adduced, and nature of the "rationality" employed. This has caused a reduction in ideological and dogmatic thinking. Knowledge creates pressures for policy change with force of its own.

Price insists that effective control over experts is maintained

through a proper balance among the scientific, professional, administrative, and political communities. Public scrutiny is the key to maintaining an open society. The danger of a technocracy lies in an alliance between Congressional committees and professional interests within the agencies of government.

Kaysen: - The role of economic advisor in "settled" problem areas like anti-trust policy or ones where well-worked-out quantifiable forecasts can be made tends to be technical. Advice on "live" questions, such as in core policy, is usually given on the basis of ideological commitment. Neutral advice is not considered very useful. (BM69)

40. Meynard believes that democratic politics are being shifted as power moves from elected representatives to technocrats, who are not responsible to the electorate.

Greenberg on the other hand, maintains that there is a myth of the scientific elite. Scientists rely on the goodwill of the politicians, who are able to distinguish between political and technical knowledge and hence know when, and when not, to use scientists. (BM69)

41. Shubik: - How to resolve the inconsistencies between equality and achievement and attain a balance between the two?

Brzezinski argues that "equal opportunity" can exist with special opportunity for the "talented few." Society is becoming a "meritocratic democracy," combining a continued respect for popular will with an increasingly important role for specialists in key decision-making institutions.

McDermott holds that there is a contradiction between meritocracy and democracy. Current social trends are leading to a cultural and political gap between the upper and lower levels of American society, between the managers and the managed. Increasing skill and educational levels of the population are making the "managed" more interested in, and capable of, self-management. (BM69)

42. MacPherson holds that the technological revolution provides abundance and frees man from compulsive labor. It is possible to abandon the market concept of man, which involved conflict between man, the infinite desirer and consumer of utilities, and man, the exerter of uniquely human capacities. The market view of man supports the unequal accumulation of wealth by the few over the many. The idea of man as a being of infinite wants must be countered. (BM69)

#### Technical change and a New Definition of Democracy

43. Increased government planning and technical rationality will not eliminate the need for meaningful citizen participation. As government expands into the economic and social life of the nation, more people will want a stake in decision-making because their lives will be increasingly affected by what government does.

#### Galbraith and Kariel : -

Government backing of technological expansion and economic growth have hindered development of other, equally important, social goals (better health, air, water, environment). Unless government power moves to back these social goals, private power must exist to see that these social goals are not neglected.

Technical growth and permeation of our society necessitates greater government control for the good of society. However, the growth of government itself raises fears that increased government will lead to the totalitarian State, or some type of feudalistic struggle between competing special interests will

#### Potential Impact

National security is a nebulous concept to many citizens in time of peace. Unless bombs are dropping in the marketplace, some people cannot grasp the rationale for an extensive military establishment. As social goals become more prominent in relation to immediate environments, and as invidious comparisons are made in future peacetime conditions, it may become even more difficult than in the past for the Navy to defend reasonable budget requests in public arenas.

lose sight of public purposes. The other side of the coin is that a decrease of government power will not or does not lead to an increase in popular power.

Private interests continue to make decisions that affect the future size and composition of social classes.

Another concept due to be changed will be the view of the government as a broker in the political arena between competing groups of struggling to maintain or secure power. The thrust of technology may be toward integration, but the thrust of American politics is toward stalemate. (BM69)

#### Miscellaneous Predictions

44. The United States will admit its fifty-first state, Puerto Rico, and its fifty-second state, a string of Pacific Islands... (BP416)

45. Residence will be abandoned as the basis of franchise. (BM94) Potential Impact  
The abandonment of residence as the basis of franchise may intensify the problem of Navy personnel involvement in local politics.

46. A Gordon and Helmer Delphi response concerned the political implications of a national data bank, compiled without individual consent of each citizen:

Big Brotherism, the state monitoring its population, is possible. Bureaucracies could increase in scope and accuracy with the data supplied by central computers. VA, FHA, Bureau of the Budget, Council of Economic Advisors, Civil Aeronautics Board, Federal Power Commission, U.S. Civil Service Commission, National Labor Relations Board; in fact, all of our bureaucratic service organizations would benefit from the use of the collected data.

As public indignation grows, specific legislation may be enacted to prevent further government intrusion into personal matters. (BBI6)

47. One possible area of tension surrounds the lack of a feed-back channel. There will be an increasing overload of downward communications (what government is doing). This will intensify needs for upward channels of individual complaint (not group communication). One suggestion is to provide for an ombudsman function electrically. (BM9)

Potential Impact

Concern for upward feedback channels may become permanent. New aspects of relationships may develop new channels or modify old ones. Something like an ombudsman role may evolve at critical interfaces within large organizations such as the Navy, at least in personnel administration, in order to provide human assurance of the uniqueness of each person.

48. Duchêne has commented on this point: While the means of communication from the top to the base of the pyramid are so good as to produce symptoms of Caesarism, the channels upward are almost nonexistent. (BF6)

49. Peter Drucker predicts, in fact, that the 1970's may be a very traditional and old-fashioned decade due to population dynamics and the fact that the center will be the 21-35 year-olds, a traditionally conservative age group. (BPI03)

50. One implication of increased longevity is that the percentage of old-age voters would increase, leading probably to a concomitant increase in the "acceptance lag," and a more conservative society. (BFI3)

51. For a Gordon and Helmer Delphi panel, Gordon described automated voting in detail, then requested consideration of general use of

Potential Impact

Doubtless, the Navy will make extensive use of television, and other electronic means, some automated

communications systems which carry at least 100 video and information channels into average homes. The responses on political implications said:

Politics. In the scenario described, automated anarchy is possible, with each national issue being determined by plebiscite. Issues might be determined by popular appeal rather than national good. Every election, from presidential to dog catcher, would take the form of a great debate. Personality and appearance would become even more important in elections. (BBI6)

possibly in such systems as command and control. However, the possibility for achieving serious, even chaotic, disruption by persons with various motivations from pranksterism to subversion who might gain access to control rooms and instruments, will lead the Navy to devise very tight control procedures governing access.

52. Shubik points out that: Voting patterns could change by use of the "instant referendum." With the availability of a computer console as a standard consumer good as commonly available as a television set, it would be feasible to present the electorate with the opportunity to vote directly and immediately on a variety of issues. Not only could they be asked to vote, but they could be supplied with information by direct library interrogation prior to casting their vote. (BP416)

53. Other Delphi responses related to social implications of use of communications systems which carry at least 100 video and information channels into average homes:

Social. Automated voting could provide a grand national game which could be leisure-filling. Electing Miss America could become important.

Easy education could result in a new class of savants, dedicated to learning as an end in itself. (BBI6)

54. One potential impact of greater leisure is possibly greater political activity. Note Weber's comment that one's political activity is contingent on the requirements of one's job; hence, students have freedom to participate politically.

Electronic advances have created the basis for a "participative society." In such a society, there is the opportunity for participation on the part of everyone, unlike most societies of the past which (because of the limitations of communications and the inability to produce enough goods for everyone) were run by a relatively small number of people at the "top." Social and political participation can be direct and universal in the electronic society. (BM43,95)

55. Apprehension is being expressed about the possibilities for political exploitation made possible by sophisticated capabilities of communications media. Some of the dangers cited include:

- merchandising political candidates via advanced techniques of persuasion; preparation of television image, make-up, lighting, settings, etc; or ghost writing and use of pre-tested scripts.

- demonstrations in lieu of the vote. Financial and electronic resources may be combined for elections with the use of violent demonstrations to impress large numbers and subvert representative democracy. Access to communications media may mesh with political power, including exploitation of TV's capacity for entertainment.

- new difficulty in achieving a national cohesion. Any stable government requires a good measure of cohesion. Consider a future, however, in which, as commercial channels and media multiply, different groups pursue different modes of reality without overlap and without interchange (e.g., profusion of Far Left and Far Right newspapers, journals, etc). Imagine TV channels enough for all these groups, especially the less literate and less tolerant, keeping them fully saturated, unable to talk to other groups meaningfully.

Are we in danger of creating by electrical communications such diversity within society as to remove the commonness of experience necessary

for human communication, political stability, and, indeed nationhood itself? Must confrontation increasingly be used for human communication?

• there will arise temptation toward the Instant Plebiscite. Technology is nearing the capability to do so. Issues will be narrowed to TV-type oversimplification. Eventually, will there be voting pushbuttons for all? If so, eventually, there may be momentum to connect the pushbuttons to the "Action machine." This potential is one not to be taken lightly. (BM9)

56. Some listeners of ABC's Harry Reasoner sent in to him (January 4, 1972) a proposal for a "randomocracy," which utilizes several predicted elements of the future in a novel and thought-provoking way. Except for babies, the insane, and criminals, the names of all Americans would be included in a computer; there would be no bars for age, sex, race, religion, position, location, profession, or other factors.

The computer would select 500 persons, who would constitute the Congress for four years. Either they, or the computer, would select a President for a four-year term. At the end of four years, all 501 would be given an income guaranteeing a comfortable living for life. However, they would never again be eligible for selection. They would not be permitted to hold any public office, to become an officer in a private corporation, or to own stock. A few other restrictions would apply for the rest of their lives.

57. This scheme recalls William Buckley's statement that he would rather be ruled by the first 2000 names in the Manhattan telephone directory than by the Harvard faculty.

As one ponders the future of American political institutions, the implications of these schemes have more than humorous relevance.

58. Various other straightforward predictions include these possibilities by 2000:

- the end of the "Democratic" South
- changes in terms so as to be co-terminous for the President,

House, and Senate.

- election techniques streamlined; emphasis on charisma; as costs rise, the most able may not run, only the wealthy.
- various Electoral-System alternatives: direct, Mundt, or Lodge proposals.

some Constitutional changes considered likely:

- Change 20th Amendment to move inauguration up to four weeks after election.
- Repeal the 22nd Amendment (restricting the President to two terms).
- Modify the Presidential Succession Act of 1945, to avoid the most senior Congressmen. (BG2)

## ECONOMIC, LABOR, AND EDUCATION SYSTEMS

1. Scientific, technical, and demographic factors will continue to alter the economic system, the education-and-training system, the labor market, and the consumption patterns of the United States. Increasing efficiency in agriculture and industry, because of scientific and technical advances, will decrease the demand for many unskilled and semi-skilled workers, while a rapidly expanding service sector continues to absorb more of the nation's manpower. The population will continue to grow in such a way that the size of the labor force increases faster than the size of the total population. For the economy to achieve full employment, consumption will have to keep pace with this increase in productive capacity. Therefore, prominent in the nation's manpower situation will be a changing labor market and changing patterns of work and leisure.
2. American society by the year 2000 will probably have experienced massive economic growth, population growth, and technical change; and the 1970 decade will provide a large share of that experience. Poverty will be reduced; racial tensions eased but not eliminated. Less disparity between incomes, schooling, and living standards will exist. Social status will continue to be determined by occupation, education, and place of residence. Occupation will continue to be the most important determinant of status, but education is the key to being admitted to certain occupations. 85% of the population over 25 will have finished high school; a lack of education will be a hindrance. College graduates will form the majority of the middle class. Still, jobs may be limited, even for high-school graduates.

Quotas for immigrants have been reduced; however, the numbers of non-quotas immigrants have grown. Therefore, there may be an appreciable impact of American population from immigrants, but impacts are unpredictable at this time.

### Racial Distribution

3. The proportion of non-whites in 1960 was 11%; by 2000, it will be 14% (Black, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, Korean, etc.). Blacks constitute 95% of all non-whites (22 million); by 2000, blacks will number 40 million. Of the nation's 30 largest cities in 1970, two had black population over 50%, and eight over 1/3. By 1985, nine cities will have over 50% blacks, and eighteen at least 1/3 (including Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., St. Louis, New Orleans, Newark). By 2000, seventeen cities will be over 50% black, and twenty-one at least 1/3 black. (BG2)

4. Minorities will continue to be affected by unemployment, for there is a declining place for the uneducated, unskilled worker. Today, the unemployment rate for blacks is twice the national average. At this time, blacks constitute 9% of the armed forces; 45% of blacks eligible to reenlist the first time do so, whereas 20% of white eligibles do so. As conditions improve for blacks, reenlistment rates approach white rates. On the initial basis of physical and mental qualification tests, Selective Service accepts 2 in 5 Negro draftees, but 2 in 3 whites. (BG2)

### Potential Impact

5. The increasing availability of leisure will bring partly unprecedented problems. Increases in productivity may not be compatible with the work structure. Automation will replace routine activity; as the result, patterns of home life, as well as business, industry, and work will become uncertain. Probably there will be shorter work weeks and longer weekends. Leisure industries will appear in many forms to provide preprogrammed experiences. Incorporating leisure into Navy schedules and practices may be more difficult than incorporating it within other organizations.

Leisure will not bring unmixed blessings. The work ethic involves achievement, organization, and specific ends; while the leisure ethic is permissive and exploratory. There are different psychic orientations required for work and leisure. There will be difficult adjustments, some may find it difficult to work. (BM34,60)

6. The operation of an advanced economy based on sophisticated technology has created a long-term demand for research scientists, engineers, and highly-skilled managers who can apply the new technology. A firm, whether agricultural or industrial, which fails to develop or apply new knowledge will not remain economically viable. The need for unskilled workers in these activities will continue to decline; the workers who remain will find their jobs requiring greater degrees of skill and judgment. The growth area of the economy in terms of employment will be in the service sector, such as sales, health, education, and recreation; in automation; and in education.

The role of education will be to help individuals learn more effectively and to help change the system by preparing individuals to control and live more effectively in a technological society.

It may be necessary, in the process of shrinking the work life of an individual, to extend the period of life prior to entrance into the labor force, so that it covers more years during which the right to consume is granted to young people. It is likely that this period will be taken up by both true and sham educational activities which are invented to occupy that time of youth during which they are being withheld from the labor force.

Because of the nature and the size of social and economic problems, government and private enterprise will be forced to form consortiums to meet exigencies of emerging problems created by technological development. Some problems will require international moves toward supernational economic and political structures. (BM129)

7. For the next decade or so, McRphet and Ryan assume an annual average increase of about 3 percent in productivity, which would be higher than the historical rate but lower than the dramatic increase which some technocrats anticipate for the immediate future. With this rate of increase in productivity and with a labor force expanding at an average rate of 1.7 percent per year,

we have two main building blocks for a projection of total production. Using these assumptions, total production of goods and services will rise from about \$676 billion a year in 1965 to \$1-1/4 trillion by 1980 (in constant prices). (BB242)

.. By the year 2000, GNP (KahnlandWeiner use the UN definition) will reach \$1,500 billion to \$4,000 billion, while per capita GNP will reach \$5,000 to 15,000, depending on the growth rate. This growth will be brought about by increasing the efficiency of production through scientific and technical developments, as well as by expanding the service sectors. (BP416)

9. Several social implications emerge from this pattern of growth.

A widening gap between rich and poor may continue and will probably increase as professional, technological, and skilled service people receive higher wages. The situation will be complicated because very many of the unskilled and unemployed will be black people. To meet this situation, retraining will be necessary on a large scale. Problems will arise with those people who will not have the underlying ability and experience in thinking and learning or the motivation to be retrained. Research will take years to overcome this problem. (BB232)

10. The impact of science and technology on the demand for labor in a production process can be illustrated from developments in American agriculture. The following figures show the course of the share of farm population in the United States. (% of Americans living on farms): 1790—90%; 1930—25%; 1940—23%; 1950—15.3%; 1960—8.7%; 1970—4.8%.

This shows that only 1 of every 21 Americans is now needed to grow food for all the rest, and produce a surplus besides. (BS14)

11. An ever-expanding percentage of the world's population is being released from agriculture for industrial and service uses.

This 800th lifetime marks a sharp break with all past human experience because during this lifetime man's relationship to resources has reversed itself. This is most evident in the field of economic development. Within a single lifetime, agriculture, the original basis of civilization, has lost its dominance in nation after nation.

Today in a dozen major countries agriculture employs fewer than 15 percent of the economically active population. In the United States, whose farms feed 200,000,000 Americans plus the equivalent of another 160,000,000 people around the world, this figure is already below 6 percent and it is still shrinking rapidly. (BB355)

12. Farm population in America may be expected to decline somewhat further, in view of mechanization developments and productivity increases. By 1980, the farm population is likely to include fewer than 10 million persons. (BB242)

13. In the American economy, the fishing industry remains an area of lagging productivity; while agriculture and industry have continued to increase, it has maintained an almost level rate of production over the last ten years, despite a rapid increase in world productivity and modernization of fishing fleets of other nations. As our own more conventional food sources become more expensive, perhaps demand and consumption of seafood will increase in the United States and the importance of conventional agricultural produce will diminish. (BB16)

14. Donald Michael has devoted much probing analysis to prospects for the work force, and we draw extensively from his work in the next several pages. The same process will continue in industry. The growing complexity of society and the expanded use of social and technological machinery will increase, requiring professionals of all kinds supported by both trained and unskilled technicians. How will this increasingly complex system of production affect various occupational groups?

The trend is for the dominant men of the future to be the research scientists, the mathematicians, the economists, and the managers of computer technology. Dominant institutions will be the research corporations, the industrial laboratories, the experimental stations, and the universities.

#### Potential Impact

Data for future job forecasting will have to be collected regularly, nationally, and in great detail, in order to anticipate A nationwide job data bank will be of importance to the Navy in anticipating future manpower needs.

specific job and professional needs for specific regions at specific future times. This system presupposes that companies will reveal something about their long-term production and market plans in order to make the system meaningful. (BB232)

15. Increases are expected in employment opportunities for:  
geologists, soil scientists, engineers, hydrologists, meteorologists,  
economists, business managers, and farm managers. (BB242)

16. The extraction industries will need personnel trained in middle levels of research and development, resource planning, and management. Specific specialists will include conservation field technicians; park and forest wardens; research technicians; foremen; key employees in mines; and key employees in recreational enterprises, farms, and ranches. (BB242)

17. Cybernation will disrupt the whole labor market. Many low-skill jobs will be done by computers. Wage increases and shorter working hours will make it more attractive to use computers to replace the unskilled. (BB232)

Potential Impact

Cybernation will make it possible to reduce the size of crews on ships at sea, as well as of many work crews on shore. The Navy may find it advantageous to automate some jobs, but not others.

18. Cybernation will mean changes in the whole production, distribution, and control system, rather than just in parts of it.

There is a trend toward 24-hour operations. Organizations that process much paper work, as bases for the following day's decisions and actions, usually run their data processing at night. This will mean that because of 24-hour operation, some service activities could go on the same schedule.

Occupational training and specialization will become more frequently a prerequisite for secure, well-paying jobs. There will be greater pressure for youth to make occupational choices in terms of objective talent or social need rather than subjective preference. However, for the near future, a large portion of the youth will continue to choose jobs from conventional viewpoints.

A growing awareness has developed that jobs may be changed two or three times in a working career. As changing technology changes job requirements, so the individual will change his job. Commitment will be to a profession or a skill rather than to a job. Excellence and commitment will tend to be scarce. (BB232)

19. In the professional job market, first-rate professionals will be in short supply and work 60-70 hours a week. Professionals will be very well trained in the fundamentals of their field as well as in related matters. They will retain the ability to learn and will have one or more careers which directly evolve from their earlier training. (BB232)

20. Demand for scientists and engineers will be high for a long time. Government, industry, and universities will increasingly become dependent on the presence and productivity of scientists and engineers. They, in turn, will become a powerful lobby for programs and policies benefiting their profession. Backing them will be institutions that stand to profit from their skill.

Science and engineering will attract more young people who see these fields as means to personal gain; they will help change the image of the fields to aggressive, competitive social action. Science will become a prerequisite for advancement in other careers, much as the legal profession is today. There will still be a place in science for the mediocre scientist; one will not have to be the "best" in order to have a science career. However, routine service tasks will be done by computers. (BM232)

Potential Impact

Career fields may be somewhat more difficult to terminate in organizations which encourage long-term commitments, as the Navy does, especially as people become relatively senior. Janowitz recommends the adoption of a single government career, in which the first part might be military, and the latter phase Civil Service. This proposal warrants exploration. Other approaches to changing career fields will be of interest, for the retraining load on the Navy may be large; and the process is seldom easy on the individual.

Potential Impact

The difficulty may not lie in ensuring some science background in most Navy professionals, for the Navy has always stressed this. More difficulty may lie in ensuring that more scientific and engineering specialists possess some social-science background in order to bridge the interdisciplinary gap.

21. Management will have at least a minimum of science background in such fields as cybernetics and operations research. Top management will be made up of those who can use these techniques boldly and intelligently. Career opportunities for middle management will decrease, as functions are replaced by machines. Top management will have a much greater control over organizations because of computer-based information. (BB232)

22. Technicians and specialists who serve as aides to a professional, or a skilled service man or woman such as an electrician, plumber, or hair stylist, will be in demand. There will be a need for these people in social-action activities, where the machine cannot replace face-to-face human exchange. (BB232)

23. Human abstractors of information will grow in demand for some years to come, because it will be at the very least ten years before computers can abstract nonscientific and scientific information which could benefit society. There will be a greater demand for those who can guide inter-disciplinary conferences as a means of exchanging, enlarging, and applying knowledge. (BB232)

Potential Impact

The possession of interdisciplinary background in both physical and social sciences will be even more important in the Navy's top management.

Potential Impact

The development of more clearly defined apprentice levels in technical fields may facilitate lateral entry procedures into the Navy in certain ratings.

Potential Impact

The Navy will find useful the capability to monitor cultural and social change, by methods analogous to those by which technological change is monitored, in systems of data collecting, storage, and retrieval.

24. Although automation will provide many relatively unskilled technician jobs, the overall process will decrease demand for unskilled occupations in the production process. Clerical staffs will shrink as computers do more work. Small organizations will use computers on a time-sharing basis. Machines will do more of the routine tasks. However, as machines yet be clear. take over, the entire organizational structure will change to accommodate the machine.

25. The unskilled will compete for the remaining menial jobs that computers will not do (or that will be too expensive to automate); and they will become highly mobile, moving to where the jobs are. Social-welfare programs will reflect national standards more than local or state standards, because of this movement. (BB232)

26. The educated or self-trained artist will find a demand for his services, if the economy remains reasonably prosperous; and a greater proportion of them will be well paid, even for mediocre abilities. An affluent society will generate increasing appreciation for the arts. The artist will have a respectable place in that society. A serious artist not interested in the commercial world of the arts will be able to find a colony to escape to or an art patron willing to underwrite him. However, the mass media may include him in society in the way that has been done even with "beatniks." (BB232)

27. Political problems surrounding the unskilled will become acute. If these problems threaten national welfare, the government will institute public-works

Potential Impact

How feasible such computers will be on individual ships, and how advantageous they become as labor-saving devices, may not

Potential Impact

National standards for social-welfare programs will simplify Navy programs for personnel assistance in different states.

programs to use this labor. However, as long as such programs do not deal with the sources of low capability, the existence of the unskilled will merely prolong a group growing less capable of taking a productive place in the future complex society.

(BB232)

28. Even a large defense establishment may not provide enough jobs to utilize many of the nation's unskilled workers. Riesman observes:

For the shift in military procurement away from heavy hardware toward the research and development of small-scale and non-mass-produce devices, along with the continuing automation of production itself, makes it possible greatly to increase defense spending without appreciably absorbing the pool of unemployed. Hence we find an increasing demand for highly specialized scientists and technicians (as can be seen, for example, by perusing the advertisement for personnel in any issue of Scientific American), while the demand for semiskilled and to some degree for what used to be called skilled labor has diminished. (BB286)

29. The process of industrialization was based on a division of labor into abstract elements, and depreciated the traditional skill of the worker of the craftsman type. The more science has progressed, the more the skill content of industrial work has been destroyed; the larger the group of skilled specialists outside of the production process proper, the more did the skill of the people in the production process lose its importance. The technological revolution is slowly stopping and reversing these tendencies. In the end, it excludes the mass of simple unskilled or little-skilled work in shops and in offices. The share of semi-skilled operators is decreasing, and highly-skilled setup men, repair and maintenance men are becoming the core of the production personnel in contemporary automated production. The full assertion of the automatic principle will in the long run shift the emphasis in human activity towards the functions of highly skilled workers, technicians, engineers, economists, organisers, scientists, etc. Only on this basis will the major part of human work take on a creative character, and assume the role of man's positive "active self-assertion. (BF13)

30. Certain familiar jobs will disappear; for example, the salesman, pharmacist, middleman in an information process may disappear. In the medical field, computers may accomplish diagnosis, and patient-monitoring may be reduced (eliminating nurses).

This trend will possibly affect clergy and teachers, who may to some extent, be displaced by electronic channels. In view of some forthcoming drastic changes in some professions, how much are career choices by youth today informed about potential impacts? (BM9)

31. The increasing sophistication of the production process has changed attitudes toward work.

Blauner - A study of blue-collar workers in four different industries concludes that automation is reversing the trend towards greater alienation by giving the worker more control over his work, stopping the progressive specialization of labor, and giving the worker more responsibility. However, Shepard points out that, since the bulk of the labor force is employed in industries not yet affected by automation, job enlargement schemes are needed to counter the alienation of these workers. (BM68)

32. The increased productivity has hastened changes in many other economic relationships:

The economic independence of the small unit operating with a minimum of environmental constraints is pretty much a thing of the past, rendered economically unviable by the mechanisms of massive innovation, complex, mass production, mass marketing. In a complex urbanized society fewer and fewer people are capable of functioning independently of "the economy" intertwining their actions with those of others. (BB16)

33. The advent of the era of the multi-industry and multinational firms exemplifies this intertwining of economic activity. In order to control these new economic institutions, since the market will not, there exists a need for new accounting concepts and devices to internalize social costs and revenue to individual firms, such as user charges to allocate public services to effective demanders; social accounting to evaluate the dollar cost of meeting priority social goals; and social indicators to reflect progress in meeting social needs. (BS24)

Potential Impact

34. Firms will probably find themselves held to a social accountability for their actions instead of being judged only by economic criteria. This pressure will come not only from government but also from other sources—for example, institutional investors, such as unions, churches and universities.

For instance, Yale University, which holds about \$500 million in stocks, recently endorsed the principle that the institutional investor must recognize responsibilities beyond financial gain. Possible interventions: attempts to persuade drug firms to stop advertising that creates demand for dangerous drugs; challenges to corporations to add blacks, women, and workers to their boards; questions about activities producing war goods, or pollution, or benefiting certain countries. (BN477)

35. The value of human labor is going up as productivity increases in the section where labor can take advantage of mechanization and automation. The marginal cost of labor is going up even where productivity is not increasing: the service sector, especially government services.

The service sector must match wage rates in the production sector, in order for it to recruit qualified, intelligent workers away from the production sector.

Impacts from groups questioning military activities and military applications of public funds have already been felt, and will probably be felt again, as variously-motivated public indignation rises, or is pushed.

Potential Impact

Since the Navy is clearly in the service sector, this appears to mean that vigorous efforts must continue to keep Navy pay scales abreast of those in the civilian production area.

This raises the question, says Yarmolinsky, of how much of the relatively unpleasant work of the world (including some military work) is going to be performed. Two possible alternatives exist: highly paid pseudo-professionals; or national service.

An asymmetrical relationship exists between the production sector and the service sector. In the production sector, productivity increases while employment decreases. In the service sector, productivity has not increased, but employment and wages have. A continued situation such as this would lead to inflation, instead of to actual increases in GNP. (BM160)

36. An increase in GNP does not necessarily mean that an increase in productivity has occurred. For example:

...a threefold increase in GNP per capita is far from the equivalent of a threefold increase in productivity per capita in all relevant respects. As real productivity increases dramatically in certain industries, principally in manufacturing and heavily clerical industries, such as banking and insurance and many federal, state, and local governmental functions, which could be very much automated, the price structure would also change dramatically. This would result in enormous increase in the availability, variety, and quality of goods and many standardized services, since these items would become very much cheaper or very much better for the same price. A three-fold increase in GNP per capita would probably imply a much greater increase in standard living with respect to these items. Yet, at the same time, skilled, personal services requiring irreducible quantities of human time, training, and talent would become both absolutely and relatively expensive. Thus there would probably still be a very strong demand for, and probably also a much expanded supply of expensive and skilled professionals, managers, entrepreneurs, artisans, technicians and artists—for the most part, the well-educated upper middle class. (BB170)

37. While the percentage of the labor force engaged in agricultural or industrial activities has decreased, the service sector has expanded.

In 1947, employment stood at approximately 58 million and now is at about 72 million. According to VK Fuchs, 'Virtually all of this increase occurred in industries that provide services, for example, banks, hospitals, retail stores, and schools.' This nation has become the only country to employ more people in services than in production of tangible goods. The growth industries today, if we can call them that, are education, health, welfare, and other professional institutions. The problem facing organizations in so longer manufacturing—it is the management of large-scale sociotechnical systems and the strategic deployment of high-grade professional talent. (BB233, BB18)

Potential Impact

38. Education will become the largest single industry in the future for youth, middle years, and the aged. (BB242)

The previous status of the military in the service sector, as intermittently the largest institutional employer in society, even in peacetime, has been overtaken by the education industry.

39. A projected business and future labor force profile for 1975 illustrates the trend towards a service economy: more than 1 out of 6 workers will be engaged in government; 1 out of 5 will be buying and selling to earn a living; less than 5% of the work force will produce all food, feed, and fibers in the agricultural sector; 25% of those working will still be factory workers in America's industrial complex. With the expected phenomenal growth of science and technology, the unskilled will represent only 5% of the work force.

Demographic shifts will alter the political map. California (the largest) will gain four Congressional seats; other states gaining will be Arizona, Florida, Texas, and

Potential Impact

In the Navy, too, there will be less and less room for unskilled manpower.

Potential Impact

These same shifts in buying behavior will be of concern to ship's stores and Marine exchanges, and other family services sponsored by the Navy Department.

New Jersey.

Buying behavior will shift to education and self-improvement activities, recreation, travel, personal and family-life activities.

The public will expect business to place greater emphasis on the "quality of life" (e.g., education and development of employees, production of quality products, and contribution to the "social costs" of urban problems). (BS24)

Potential Impact

40. To some extent the demand for various goods, services, and occupations depends on a society's demographic patterns. For instance, a young population requires more teachers than an older population. Demographers estimate that the labor force will grow faster than the total population.

Absorbing and utilizing this expanding labor force may develop into a serious problem if enough new jobs fail to open up. An expanding labor force may be viewed as a great benefit, enabling an economy to develop on several fronts simultaneously.

By the mid-1970's the working force is expected to number 100 million, over 30 million of them women. (BB18)

41. A comparison between the 1950 and 1970 census shows some trends which may be expected to continue relative to the average American family:

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Potential Impact</u>
income	\$3,300	\$9,870 (6,100 in 1960)	These trends will be reflected in Navy and Marine families, and hence influence certain support activities, such as design and size of family quarters, provision of garages, and parking spaces, and number of children's classrooms.
schooling of parents	9 years	12 years	
house	city	suburb	
no. of rooms	4	5	
rms. airconditioned	0	1 per 3 rms.	
television	1 per 5 families	1/1	
no. of cars	1 per family	1-1/4	
ages (F-M)	44-41	45-42	
children	18-14 (3)	19-17 (2)	

42. During the 1970's jobs for 40% more people each year will be needed than in each of the past ten years. Scarcity of jobs for college graduates in 1971 was due not merely to the recession, but also to the abundance of college graduates. At the same time new teaching jobs will almost completely dry up. Between 1955 and 1970 an unusually large number of teaching jobs became available. Because of a smaller school-age population and because of the young character of present teachers, there will be few jobs for new teachers (1 - 2 million). The expanding need in education will not be in elementary or secondary schools; it will be in the adult-section programs needed to retrain people for a changing job market. (BP103)

43. About 80% of the population will be urban, with 40% of the urban total concentrated in metropolitan areas along the East Coast, the Great Lakes, and the West Coast. Life expectancy will remain stable after 55 years of age. (BB242)

44. The Bureau of the Census projections for population for 1980 range from 225 million to a high of 249 million.

It seems that by the year 2000 the aged are not going to be nearly so large a percentage as some of the popular writing has indicated. Between 8% and 10% of the population will be over 65. The Negro population will be somewhere in the range of 11% to 12%, and intermarriage will probably not make too significant a change in these figures. This percentage will be a

Potential Impact

great deal smaller than it was in the United States in the year 1800 when the black population was around 19%. Another interesting feature is the change in the pattern of family size. The poor will not be having more kids; after about one hundred and fifty years, the trend has started to go in the other direction. (BP416)

A decline in the number of children in disadvantaged families should decrease the proportion of persons rejected for military service and the proportion of lowest category persons in the age groups suitable for recruiting. Accordingly, the capability level of those available should rise.

45.

Assuming continuation of recent net immigration, by 1980, the foreign-born population will number only 4 percent of the total, and will have declined substantially in relative importance...

All or almost all of the increase in population between 1965 and 1980 will be in urban territory, most of it in metropolitan areas. This increase will leave between 75 and 80 percent of our population in urban territory and about 70 percent in metropolitan areas. Within metropolitan areas, close to 60 percent of the population will be in suburbs.

The projected rates of growth and expansion in numbers vary widely among the age groups. Between 1965 and 1980, the population 65 years of age and over will increase by some 5 million persons or by 27 percent. (BB242)

46.

Elderly persons have been migrating to places in the West and South with special climatic conditions, for example, to Florida, California, and Arizona. This movement may be expected to continue during the sixties and seventies. It may also be noted that the senior citizens of 1980 will have attained higher levels of education and will have more leisure than their counterparts of earlier dates...

The rate of increase for the group 35 to 64 years of age, however, will be much smaller, only about 8 percent. This percentage represents an increase of only 5 million, less than that for our senior citizens. This broad group is composed almost entirely of active members of the

labor force and persons well along in the course of marriage and parenthood. (BB242)

47. On the conservative basis of projection used here, an increase of only 4 million or about 11 percent may be expected in the groups 5 to 13 years of age. Such an increase is in sharp contrast to the increase of 61 percent or 13.5 million children in the preceding 15-year period. Our schools and markets, we may feel certain, will feel no impact such as occurred during the latter period as a result of the postwar baby boom...

The group which will be 14 to 17 years of age in 1980 are those born in 1962 to 1966... For them, an increase of almost 17 percent is projected (1965 to 1980), about 2.4 million teenagers. This is very small compared with the 67 percent or 5.7 million increase during the preceding 15-year period. Perhaps as a result, an era of serious teenage problems will decline...

Potential impact

While the 14-17 age group will be small, the explosive increase in the 18-34 year group gives promise of providing sufficient qualified manpower for the military, without overintensive competition.

A real explosive expansion in number will occur for the group 18 to 34 years of age. The increase will be 57 percent. In terms of numbers, it is an increase of almost 24 million persons, just over one-half of the projected 47 million overall increase in population. This group includes college students, new entrants to the labor force, newlyweds and young parents. Hence, the large projected increase for them is a warning signal of possibilities of a swamping of college and university facilities, a rise in unemployment while jobs also increase, and a large increase in the number of births. (BB242)

48. Marked shifts in the composition of our population may be expected to continue. Perhaps the most significant is the changing age structure. In terms of average age, the population will be younger in 1980 than in 1965... (BB242)

49. Projected differences in the increase in the size of the population and

and labor force emphasize the need for the economy to develop more jobs.

The labor force: 71 million in 1970; 120 million in 2000.

The population will increase by 68%, while the labor force will increase by 85%.

The Bureau of the Census projects future requirements, in millions, in the eight major groupings of the labor force; (the Bureau also lists 240 individual skills).

	<u>1975</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>2000</u>
1) Professional, Technical, & kindred workers (high, especially medical and engineering)	11.5 m	16 m	25 m
2) Farmers and farm managers (down trend)	1.5 m	1 m	.6 m
3) Managers, officials, and proprietors	6.7 m	8 m	10 m
4) Clerical and kindred	11.5 m	13.5 m	17.1 m
5) Sales workers	5.7 m	6.7 m	8.1 m
6) Draftsmen and operatives (slower than average increase)	24.6 m	28 m	33.2 m
7) Service workers	6.3 m	7.1 m	8.3 m
8) Laborers and private household workers	11.8 m	13.7 m	17.6 m

50. Some demographic characteristics in the year 2000: a large middle class, over 50% with some religious affiliation (95% Christian), and 85% graduates of high school.

The largest minority will be 40 million blacks, still heavy in urban ghettos. Racial integration will not be complete, so that continued frustrations may bring civil disorder. Poverty will be greatest in rural areas, and moving West (also urban), although rural poverty could be eliminated with enough funds and effort. There will be decline of authority in the family structure, and alienation of youth from traditional American values. Alienation of youth will be less widespread than is sometimes thought; yet especially in universities, concern over international and domestic injustices will influence national youth attitudes. (BG2)

51. Specific projections and estimates of the available supply of labor cannot be made from total population data. Instead, the population must be analysed in terms of the size of the labor force.

Labor Force in United States (in thousands)

AGE GROUP	1960	1970	1980
14-24	13,525.0	19,576.0	23,740.0
25-34	14,881.0	16,667.0	24,797.0
35-44	16,547.0	16,346.0	18,395.0
45-64	24,135.0	28,809.0	30,530.0
65 and over	3,241.0	3,389.0	3,436.0
Total	72,329.0	84,787.0	100,898.0 (BB242)

52. A sector analysis of the labor force clearly demonstrates the growth of the service sectors of the economy.

Civilian Employment by Industrial Sector,  
United States (thousands)

INDUSTRIES	1960	1970	1980
Agriculture	5,801.0	4,295.4	3,380.1
Mining	600.0	539.4	484.4
Construction	3,734.0	4,738.7	6,086.8
Manufacturing	17,067.8	19,529.0	21,089.9
T.C.P.U.*	4,267.4	4,140.6	4,149.2
Trade	13,069.9	15,116.7	17,833.7
F.I.R.E.**	2,934.0	3,919.4	5,061.9
Services	11,336.7	14,898.9	20,635.6
Civilian Govt.	7,868.0	11,539.0	15,038.8
Total	66,678.0	78,539.0	93,859.4

\* Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities.

\*\*Finance, Insurance and Real Estate. (BB242)

53. The increasing role of education alone is resulting in diffusion among the power centers in the United States—geographical distribution among the great cities, industrial centers, and important universities. It is interesting to note that so far, we have been unable to meet demands for service and maintenance personnel, but neither have we met demands for executives, scientists, and engineers. (BM34,60)

54. The efficiency of the adjustment process in transferring labor resources will depend to some extent on the degree of social mobility in the society. Radicals argue that the social system suffers a great deal of rigidity. A rejoinder would stress, as do Blau and Duncan, that :

First, the American occupational structure is much more open than radical critics usually assume. Second, the reason the radicals are easily misled is that they tend to see the widely (and rightly) publicized problems of black Americans as an extreme manifestation of a general American pattern, whereas these problems are in most respects unique. Third, despite enormous technological and historical changes over the past half century, the amount and nature of social mobility in America has remained remarkably constant. Nor is there any reason to expect significant changes in the foreseeable future. Fourth, the only way to increase the rate of mobility significantly above its present level would be to reduce the influence of family background. This would probably require the elimination of the family itself, perhaps in favor of collective child-rearing along the lines of the Israeli kibbutz. Fifth, since the demise of the family does not seem imminent, reformers probably ought to concentrate on issues other than the mobility rate. They might, for example, turn their attention to reducing the amount of inequality built into the occupational structure, instead of trying to increase vertical movement through that structure. They might, in other words, try to abolish failure instead of simply trying to make sure that every group got its fair share. (BB215)

55. The family represents the key determinant of a society's degree of social mobility; a father normally passes 2/5 of his occupational advantage to his children. The community a boy grows up in has more effect on his later success than the community he chooses to live in. However, family alone does not account for all of a person's social position. Note Jencks' 1st Law of Human Relationships: no characteristic of a parent will ever explain more than 1/4 of the variation in the same characteristic among the parent's children. (Fathers cannot pass on more than

half their advantage or disadvantage compared to the general population. Education plays a potent role in determining one's occupation. Jenck 2nd Law is that social scientists cannot learn more than 1/2 of what there is to know about a man. (BP215)

56. This chart demonstrates that manpower experts have shown a great deal of agreement about the future development of the labor force.

#### Future Composition and Location of U.S. Labor Force

Percentage of manpower experts who agreed that the event will occur by 1980 is shown at right.

<u>Event</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Potential Impact</u>
1) The ratio of blue collar to white collar workers (now about .75) will decrease to .60.	90%	A number of these predictions will have significant effects on the Navy, particularly those concerned with the average work week, increase in holidays, average retirement age, part-time workers, and educational attainments.
2) The ratio of goods-producing industry to service-producing industry (now .37) will decrease to .25.	71%	— Reduction in the work week may force an increase in ships' crews, or may force more automation on ships, or may require even double (eventually triple?) crews.
3) The percent of the population in non-metro politan areas (now 37%) will decline to 30%.	70%	— The Navy may turn to various part-time work arrangements in times of manpower shortages.
4) The number of available jobs in rural and sub-urban areas as opposed to urban centers will double from the 1970 level.	65%	— Standard educations of 15 years will tend to reduce the number of teenage recruits available.

#### Changes in Federal Manpower Policies

Percentage of manpower experts who agreed that the event will occur by 1980 is shown at right.

<u>Event</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
1) The average scheduled work week will have been reduced to 32 hours from the current 37.5 hours.	72%	
2) The distribution of the average scheduled work week will be 5 days, 7 hours per day.	95%	
3) Thirty day work vacations will apply to at least half of all employees.	82%	
4) Fifteen scheduled holidays per annum will apply to at least half of all employees.	82%	
5) The average age at retirement will be around 60 years.	92%	

6) The number of voluntary part-time workers in the total labor force will double. 70%

7) The standard number of years for completion of education will increase to 15 (2 years beyond high school). 71%

8) The percent of the population over 25 with at least a high school degree will increase from 54% to 70%. 66%

9) The percent of population 25 and over with at least a college degree will increase from 11% to 20%. 53% (BP146)

#### 57. Future Patterns of Work, Leisure and Education

Percentage of manpower experts who agreed that the event will occur by 1980 is shown at right. Note that less than 50% of panel members accepted the probability of events, 4,5, and 8 occurring by 1980.

<u>Event</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Potential Impact</u>
1) The percentage of the federal budget devoted to manpower problems will at least double.	88%	
2) The amount of money spent on manpower problems per year will at least triple.	85%	The existence of a Council of
3) A "Council of Manpower Advisors" similar to the "Council of Economic Advisors" will be established.	90%	Manpower Advisors may tend to assist the military in resolving manpower problems, especially in competitive periods.
4) The State Employment Service function will be subsumed under federal authority.	40%	
5) The State Unemployment Insurance function will be subsumed under federal authority.	33%	
6) Regionalization of the Employment Security System will take place.	90%	
7) The Employment Service function will be completely separated from the Unemployment Insurance.	85%	
8) Unemployment insurance will no longer be related to availability for job placement.	42%	(BP146)

58. Another aspect of education, cited by Peter Drucker and others: The more education a worker has, the more likely he is to be an expressor of grievances. (BB346)

59. Perhaps the most important characteristic of the 1980 industrial system is that group bargaining will be more pervasive than it is now. Administrative and managerial authority will be increasingly limited in all types of organizations. The 'consent of the governed' principle will be extended to employer-employee relations, and bargaining out of decisions will be generalized over most of our organizations. (BB242)

Potential Impact

Representation of subgroups within the Navy can be expected to increase. How far the "bargaining" nature of their representation will go is a matter for conjecture (possible unionization is discussed in another section). Some groups are quite likely to be composed of professional specialists.

60. A somewhat, but not very much, higher percentage of these employees in 1980 will be members of unions or closely allied organizations with the growth accounted for entirely by white collar employees working in government agencies, non-profit organization, and service industries. Outside the unionized sector, a variety of professional associations will be functioning much like unions in economic matters, though holding themselves aloof from affiliation with the traditional unions. (BB242)

61. Not all analysts believe that the white collar workers can be organized or unionized. The increasing dominance of white collar workers may weaken union strength. Unskilled workers will be displaced out of industrial work into the service industries, where union organization is not strong. Unions, therefore, expect to face a crisis. (BB18)

62. Operation of this employee relations system will require a high degree of administrative skill and these skills will be in short supply. Successful industrial democracy, like successful political democracy, requires that both governed and governors work at their job.

In terms of the new administrative skills this system will require, we have been moving in two different directions in the development of managerial techniques. On the

one hand is the view that administration can be made into a science or technology. An organization is studied in terms of its mission and structured in a particular way. Information is generated, processed, analyzed, and a formal decision-making technique is used to arrive at a policy. On the other hand is the view that administration is a political process in which the implementation of a decision is at least as important as its content. This means securing the active, willing cooperation of employees functioning less as subordinates and more as colleagues.

(BB242)

Potential Impact

63. A larger part of total compensation of employees and of total labor cost of employers will be accounted for by supplements to direct wages. In addition to protecting the worker against risks such as ill health, injury, or old age, these funds will be used to increase the job security of the worker and to minimize the cost of the instability of jobs. The latter movement will be in response to insistent demands for a virtually permanent job guarantee for workers with long periods of satisfactory service. The system of allocating jobs will be under continuous review and attack from various groups demanding free or preferential access to opportunity.

(BB242)

When social customs prevail which make it very difficult for organizations to find employees or terminate membership, the organizations become more wary and careful about screening applicants. Nevertheless, it may be impossible to predict which individuals may later turn sour or lose motivations, and the Navy and other large organizations may be forced to retain some non-productive members, in the manner of paternalistic Japanese firms.

Potential Impact

64. The Nixon Administration outlined proposed reforms in private pensions, evidences of a trend toward the economy's meeting the demands for both job security and job mobility. Proposals include:

Vesting - guarantee of some benefits after a specified period of service (after 10 years) (or partial vesting after a combination of age and services reaches 50);

Portability of pension rights, between the public and private sectors, if it ever materialized, would facilitate lateral entry of skilled persons and specialists into the Navy. However, it would also loosen career commitment to the Navy.

Fiduciary responsibility and disclosure on pension funds;  
Tax incentives for pension plans for individual workers and  
self-employed.

These proposals appeared to rule out reforms in funding standards, term  
insurance, and portability (28 million workers are now without any pension coverage).  
(BN349)

65. Employers' criticisms have rested mainly on the premises that the reforms  
will be too costly and would either reduce benefits or drive the companies out of business.  
At the heart of the issue is the mobility of the worker and his lack of flexibility if he is  
held in one company job until he receives his pension. (BN309)

66. As part of the adjustment process, job satisfaction will become a major  
aim. Counseling will play a more important role in the operation of the manpower/  
employment security agencies by 1980 than it does today. (BP146)

67. To a great extent, sex, education, and race will determine an individual's  
occupational course. For women, because of a growing need for skilled workers and  
increasing opportunity for women to refresh their skills and acquire new skills, there will  
be more of them in the work force. This trend will be slowed because of ambiguous and  
ambivalent attitudes about women's role in the work force and in society—in general,  
supported by parents' views. Also, it will be difficult to enlarge the female membership  
of faculties of schools stressing professional and technical careers. Without women as  
examples, women will not move rapidly into the work force. Male-oriented and dominated  
institutions will not easily change to accommodate women. (BB232)

Potential Impact

As a male-oriented and dominated institution,  
the Navy will be able to apply this prediction  
to itself.

68. Although there will be room for women at the top, whether or not there will be places for women of average talent or training is unclear. As long as man is regarded as the traditional breadwinner, men displaced by automation will have greater access to training and work than women. The need for women as lower-grade school teachers, recreation leaders, administrators, managers and operators of service activities, trained aids and assistants to professionals will grow. Present retraining and work programs are designed for maximizing the efficiency of male labor. (BB232)

69. Jobs such as teaching and computer programmers, medical technologists, and employees of local governments have traditionally attracted women with technical training; but an education in the liberal arts does not qualify most college women for these positions. Some college-educated females will get married right away—this will increase the economic pressure and intensify concern with incomes, prices, and jobs. Competition with men will increase, especially in business and government. (BP103)

70. Women will continue to find employment in education. Despite proliferation of knowledge, increase in media, and computers, and hence availability of more knowledge than the student can absorb, some functions of the teacher may be irreplaceable and may expand, e.g., baby-sitting. (BM9)

71. There has been a sharp decline in demand for university graduates in both business and university life—historians, sociology, math, physics, and others. What are the reasons for this down-turn? The economy slowed down and, hence, the demand for trained manpower. Two-thirds of all scientists and development engineers are employed directly or indirectly by government (e.g. aerospace); but the defense budget declined in FY70, 71, and 72. Employment dropped from 8.3 million to 5.7 million. The space budget dropped from \$6 billion to \$3 billion; from its employment peak of 410,000, NASA dropped to 137,000. In addition, the Mansfield Amendment cut off all research other than defense-related research in the Department of Defense.

Meanwhile, there had been an explosion in the number of degrees given during the 1960's. The annual outputs increased as follows:

bachelors: from 400,000 to 100,000

masters: from 70,000 to 200,000

doctors: from 10,000 to 29,000

Also, there was a 200% increase in 2-year, junior, and community colleges, producing 180,000 associate degrees annually. The percentage increased of college graduates who go on to graduate or professional school: in 1950, 1 in 6; in 1965, 1 in 2. (BP156)

72. The blinding optimism of the 1960's believed budgets would keep increasing. However, Allen Carter, in 1965, warned that a 4-5 fold increase in doctorates (from 10,000 in 1960, to 45,000 in the late 1970's) would bring great problems; there was no prospect that the universities could absorb that many. But there was and is no monitor of the situation, in or out of government; and so it will probably continue to be with us well into the 1970's.

Now the trend to keep proliferating, Ph.D. programs is being dampened somewhat. Illinois institutions requested approval of a total of 280 new Ph.D. programs; but Illinois State Boards may approve six. New York State instituted a 1-year moratorium on all new Ph.D. programs. Nevertheless, though private demand is tight, the increase continues. Between 1968 and 1980, the labor force will increase by 20%, but the number with bachelor degrees will increase by 50%; with masters degrees by 100%, and with doctorates by over 115%.

In 1971-1972, the proportion of educated persons seeking employment was higher than in any previous decade. The government is optimistic; the Department of Labor in 1970 predicted a reasonable balance between supply and demand in the 1970's. The Department foresaw difficulty in only three fields: mathematics, life sciences, and teaching. Other sources predict an oversupply of physicians.

We should reduce supply of new entrants, and reduce government support. Select schools are admitting fewer (there is a social investment of \$50,000 to \$100,000 per doctorate). Holders of graduate degrees may be offered only lesser jobs; there may be a large number of disgruntled (perhaps unemployed) intellectuals. An individual who spend 20 years acquiring a doctorate, and 10 years in "vital" space programs, then is

dropped, feels that the country double-crossed him.

Corrective steps would include a retraining program supported by the Federal Government; clear advance analysis of the manpower implications when initiating, expanding, or continuing large Federal projects; development of a stable sustained level of Federal support of science; instituting a long-run Federal policy for support of doctoral programs; and providing alternative arrangements for staffing large programs.

73. An analysis of June 1971 graduates showed that they were finding it difficult to gain jobs and were settling for jobs for which they were over-qualified. Soon after June, many graduates were working as receptionists, sales personnel, truck drivers, etc. Many with the means to do so were applying to graduate schools because the available jobs and salaries were not to their liking. Law school applications, in particular, have taken an upswing (for several reasons). However, overall graduate-school enrollment is down, because of declining government funds. (BN392)

74. Some analysts argue that in the long run, the number of people motivated to advance educationally are not likely to out-run demand. However, ways of utilizing talent are likely to change a great deal. For example, proportionately less of the talent pool will be used in university and college teaching; more will be used in activities in which an upgrading of present standards of competence may be expected. (BP405)

75. For instance, teaching in two-year colleges was suggested by Dr. Herbert Wersinger, Dean of the Graduate School of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, as one way of employing the surplus of Ph.D.'s. Estimating that the annual rate of Ph.D.'s might leap to 35,000, as compared with 17,000 in the 1960's, Wersinger feels it is "incredible, immoral and suicidal that the nation is assumed incapable of providing productive work for one Ph.D. for about every 600 of its population." However, many Ph.D.'s do not care to teach in what they consider the lower-level educational atmosphere of two-year colleges. Major changes in teaching and thinking in graduate schools will have to occur if more respect is to be accorded to the efforts made by 2-year colleges. For example, composition and remedial work will have to be taught, besides specific college-level subjects. (BN417)

76. The most severe problem of adjustment may be what to do with young men who do not fit into the standard patterns of higher education, especially some among the black and Puerto Rican youth. (BM94)

77. Experts predict that the opportunities for blacks will continue to improve. The total number of skilled Negroes is expected to grow due to their growing political power, better organization of pressure groups, and changed attitudes in the part of many whites. If the economy stays healthy, Negroes will continue to advance. (BB232)

78. However, the proportion of white and Negro skilled labor will grow because of lingering white prejudice and the inability of some institutions to change to accommodate the needs of Negroes. A massive commitment over a long period of time is needed to show blacks that middle and upper-class values are worth striving for. If they do not strive, then blacks will not get the training that they must have to obtain good jobs. A privileged, skilled, intellectual, professional society that is all white in its upper layers, with a black menial unskilled worker layer, is no longer viable and must be avoided. (BB232)

79. As more and more services enter the economy, and the number of service jobs increases, social clashes will intensify when minorities try for these jobs. On the one hand, especially in certain service lines, there will be high expectations of personal service and customer satisfaction. Some customers will judge service with lingering overtones of class difference.

On the other hand, large numbers of minorities without other skills or education, lacking social adaptability and perhaps with chips on their shoulders may perform poor quality work.

Some specialized schools have had success in retraining the disadvantaged for skilled work. For example, the Westinghouse Occupation Training School has a 90-95% retention rate. Factors making for success include: the commitment of management; the certain expectation of having a job; careful and insightful selection; sensitive programs fit to trainees' needs; dedication and ability of OTS staff and director.

This sort of program requires the wisdom to be sensitive to the situation and flexible enough to discard preconceptions. (BB332)

80. New types of skilled occupations may become sources of employment for both unskilled minority members and surplus college graduates. Para-professionals can ease shortages in three professions: education, medicine, and law. They can often be more effective because they relate better to people they are serving or treating. (BN298)

The length of professional preparation in universities, etc., has forced the development of intermediate-level specialists, such as assistants and aides—e.g., nurses aides, medical assistants, meter maids, teacher aides. This trend is especially noticeable in occupations which lack a clearly defined apprenticeship. (BM34)

81. A mobile labor force and adjustment mechanisms will not insure that the economy achieves full-employment unless aggregate demand reaches a high enough level. Pressure for consumption in the public area will increase. Possible accelerators to the future economy may include urban renewal and the building of new cities and towns. (BB232)

82. Guaranteed-income plans which will cover a large share of the population not in the work force by the 1980's will help ensure that consumption and employment stay at a high level. Such plans would operate automatically as economic stabilizers since they would continue to pump money into the economy even during a recession. They would also encourage labor mobility, because some of the risk of losing money in changing jobs, industries, or location would be eliminated. (BM94)

83. We may well move towards a more carefully organized tax structure involving all three levels of government in a single tax program. This trend will become very strong in the 1980's and will facilitate the management of the economy. Tax policies at different levels would no longer operate at cross purposes. (BM94)

#### Possibilities for the Year 2000

84. Many believe there are probably important limits to the extent to which the efficiency of persons such as teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers, ministers, psychologists, social workers, and so forth can be increased. Others believe that not only can these professions be automated, but that there are huge opportunities for increasing efficiency through better organization, specialization,

and the very skilled use of computers. Nevertheless, there are likely to remain irreducible kinds of activities that defy rationalization or improvement, such as those that require face-to-face meeting and conversation. Thus programmed instruction, lectures, and sermons over television are not likely to displace face-to-face human communication, at least not without great loss to those involved. Therefore only part of the current activity in these fields is likely to increase in productivity. (BB170)

85. Drucker points out that, on the average, a "knowledge job" in the American economy (1971) whether in business, education, or government, requires a prior investment of something like \$20,000. The rate of capital formation will have to go up sharply in the United States if the country is to escape massive unemployment. Savings and profits will have to be found. Productivity will have to rise if inflation is going to be manageable. All attempts to gear wages to productivity guidelines have been mainly concerned with manual labor. Yet the majority of employment in the future will be in service trades and knowledge jobs. And no one knows much about the productivity of knowledge work, let alone how to improve it. The "cost-squeeze" in government is really a productivity squeeze, so that nonmanual workers will become more productive. (BP103)

86. Policy makers face another complication in trying to achieve full employment. How can the economy maintain full employment while preserving the natural resources upon which the environment and national security depend? To preserve resources, the nation's growth must be well planned and selective. To a great extent, growth vs. ecology does not represent an impossible dilemma, because protecting the environment and removing pollution can serve as sources of economic growth. (BB242)

Requirements for Selected Natural Resources,  
1950, 1960, and projected for 1980

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1980</u>
Cropland, including pasture (million acres)	478	447	443
Recreation land excluding reservoir areas and city parks (million acres)	42	44	76
Urban land, including city parks (million acres)	17	21	32
Timber (billion cubic feet)	12	12	19
Fresh water withdrawal depletions (billion gallons per day):			
East	10.7	13.7	24.3
West	50.3	59.7	68.7
Pacific Northwest	9.4	11.1	13.5
Oil (billion barrels)	2.3	3.2	5.3
Natural gas, excluding NGL (trillion cubic feet)	6.8	12.9	23.5
Coal (million short tons)	523	436	630
Iron ore (million short tons)	117	131	209
Aluminum, primary (million short tons)	1.0	2.1	5.7
Copper, primary (million short tons)	1.7	1.7	2.6

87. Increasing demands for resources will diminish the nation's degree of self-sufficiency, but stimulate international trade. A sampling of the trends in various metals demonstrates the loss of American resource independence.

In the year 2000, the United States will be partly self-sufficient in strategic minerals: North America will be more so; and the Western Hemisphere will be almost totally self-sufficient. The United States will be the largest user of fuel and mineral resources; American land and water resources will be sufficient, but greater efficiency is needed.

Thus, gradually the United States will become more dependent on foreign sources; Canada will become the major supplier.

Predictions About Some Metallic Minerals

Ferrous and iron ores. Since World War II, the United States has imported much, primarily from Canada. By 2000, 65% of United State's needs will be imported.

Ferro-alloys: Manganese. The United States has none. Imports from Brazil, Gabon, India, and South Africa.

Molybdenum. Usage will be increased by 100% by 2000. The United States will be the main supplier to the free world.

Nickel. Depleted in the United States by 2000; Canada will be the main source.

Chromium. The United States is wholly dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia, which have 98% of the world's supply.

#### Non-Ferrous

Copper. The United States is now the biggest importer; 50% will be imported by 2000, from Chile, Peru, and Canada.

Lead & Zinc. By 2000, the United States will import 35% lead, and 50% zinc, from Canada and Mexico.

Tin. The United States is wholly dependent. Malaysia, Burma, and Thailand are the chief sources. There will be some lesser availability from China, Bolivia, Nigeria and Congo.

#### Non-metallic Minerals

Sulfur. The United States is amply supplied through 2000.

Fluorine. The United States has much, but imports more cheaply from Canada and Mexico.

Fertilizers. The United States has phosphate rock and potash. Only Chile has nitrates.

#### Mineral Fuels

Coal. The United States will be self-sufficient through 2000.

Petroleum. The United States imports 20-30%. Will continue to be a major source for electricity till 2000. Colorado shale holdings are larger than the world's holdings of liquid petroleum.

Natural Gas. The United States has sufficient resources only till 2000; then it must import from Mexico and Canada.

Timber. After 1980, the United States must import or suffer serious depletion. Canada will provide the major supply.

Water. Better usage is needed in the East and West, but not the Northwest.

Land. No problem. (BG2)

88. If one were to postulate the availability of complex robots which are programmable, self-adaptive, and capable of performing household chores, such as independently preparing meals and cleaning or otherwise disposing of dishes, this could mean a reorientation of certain industries, such as, the electronic industry moving into the home-appliance field and the home-appliance industry diversifying into electronic service mechanisms.

89. The growing GNP will probably permit an extension of the country's investment in space projects in the years to come. A cutback in this field without immediate conversion of the talent and capability to allied areas would have serious economic impacts, and be difficult to implement. (BB16)

90. New systems of electric power based on thermonuclear reactions will probably be government built and operated; government vs. private power may become a highly controversial issue. Low-cost power will probably increase our GNP. The competing power systems will diminish in importance, causing some economic instability in these industries, but reducing the drain on some of our natural resources. (BB16)

#### Work Patterns

91. Both collective bargaining and legislation in coming years will be used to reduce the labor supply by continuing to reduce the length of the average working lifetime and by encouraging earlier retirement and longer schooling, and through reducing the average work year, thus increasing everyone's opportunity to work. Even considering the qualifications noted above as to the effect of some of these tactics, their overall result will produce an approximate balance between labor supply and demand in 1980. This conclusion requires that the economy continue to grow at about 4 percent annually, a historically high rate, but one

that is below that of the last five years. It requires that we lower the retirement age and raise the average school leaving age moderately and that we accelerate the reduction of the work year by adopting something like a 37 hour week with 9 holidays and 2 weeks vacation on the average. These adjustments will not be accomplished without political and economic friction, but they are essentially a continuation of long standing trends and do not seem unrealistic. Our political and economic institutions do not require revolutionary re-designing to accomplish these results. (BB242)

92. Some 2-2 1/2 million jobs per year are lost to automation; during the 1960's, the economy was able to replace the same number of jobs and add jobs for expanded population. There is reason to doubt our ability to continue this pattern; hence the reduction of the work-week is one alternative to rising unemployment. In 1968, the unemployment rate was 3.6% but among nonwhites 6.7%, and among 16-19 year olds 20%. (BM94)

93. Riva Poor provides the following statistics on the length of the average work week in the United States. Average work week in 1850-70 hours; 1900-60 hours; 1930-46 hours; 1950-40 hours; and 1970-37 hours. The goal appears to be a 32-hour 4-day week, by 1980. There are two trends in American labor: the preference for more income and income-related benefits for the same number of days of work; and increased blocks of leisure time.

In mid-1971, 600 employers in the United States (mostly prime manufacturing in Northeast and municipal governments in the Southwest) were offering employees a 40-hour week over 4 (some 3) days. These employing entities were generally small; all had less than 500 employees, and averaged 190 employees; usually non-union; few capital-intensive. None competed in world markets (e.g., police forces, banks, hospitals, municipal offices). (BB275)

94. Poor claims that the shape of the work-week changes to everyone's benefit, the 4-day work week increases productivity; virtually eliminates absenteeism; lifts employee morale; makes for easier recruitment; and permits some savings on 5th-day expenses. (BN220)

The increased amount of leisure will make more jobs available, and stimulate growth by increasing the demand for goods and services used during leisure activities, but it will have such an effect only if attitudes change toward work and leisure.

The loss of the identity historically conferred by the work-and-reward system raises the question of what people will do with the leisure that an economy of abundance will make available to them. We must face the fact that a great majority of our people are not emotionally and psychologically ready for free time. This results in unhealthy adaptations which find expression in a wide range of socio-pathologic and psycho-pathologic states. Among the social symptoms of this maladaptation to free time are: low morale, civilian unrest, subversiveness and rebellion. Much of the unrest of our times comes from segments of the population whom the new technology already has set free. (BM43)

#### Potential Impact

Socio-pathologic results can be expected in the Navy as well as in every other organization in which people work hard most of the time. Until leisure is taken for granted in society—and that state may be a long time in arriving—there will be opportunity for application of the bromide that *no hands are the devil's workshop*, to the detriment of the Navy. Within the Navy environment the Navy will be constrained to provide an increasing range of facilities for leisure time and to devise expanding programs of leisure activities, including education. There will always be a number of persons who are not capable of using leisure time profitably on their own initiative. These will present especially difficult problems.

#### Potential Impact

95. Gabor comments that:

In the highly industrialised countries, we are now faced with the Age of Leisure, and there can be little doubt that we do not like it. We may be willing to accept an overall reduction of working hours from 40 to, say, 30 hours per week, but what we cannot

elimination of the IQ bracket 75-100 by machines is one thing; theoretically this eliminates half of the population (if the average IQ is really 100). Elimination of IQ's of 100-115 will be quite another thing. It may be feasible but still undesirable for the Navy to eliminate persons in this range.

face is the total unemployment of that part of the population which technological change is making redundant. By the logic of machines, the IQ bracket 75-100 has no place in modern factories. (Those below 75 can still be employed as sweepers; it is not worth while to replace them by machines). Soon the computers will make it economical to replace many clerical workers in the office with IQs of 100-115. From a purely economic view it will be possible to give these redundant workers not just a pittance, but to pay them at the same rate as the workers. Economically, this may be possible; socially it is unthinkable. (BF13)

96. The tremendous productivity of America's industry will continue and accelerate. The corresponding vision of the good life based on the concept of mass and massive consumption will no doubt entrench and extend itself to a heretofore undreamt of extent. However, in the course of time the "made in USA" character of this materialistic ethos will fade away: it will become part of the general culture of technically developed societies throughout the world. Thus despite the strengthening of material values in the America of days ahead, our society will be less "different" in this respect than is and has been the case. Moreover, it is not unlikely that under the influence of "realization erosion" a disillusionment with material values in general—and "economic security" in particular—will come about in the long run. Greater security of job-tenure and pay soon comes to be taken for granted, to an extent that leads to sharp de-emphasis on the values at issue. (BB16)

97. Great flexibility can be expected in ways of increasing the leisure time while staying within a "30 hour-week, 30-year" pattern. One way would be to work 5 days per week (5-hour day) for 30 years; another would be to work 50 hours per week during alternate years; another might be to work 60 hours per week for 15 years, and then retire. Such variations have implications for the meaning of "professional career."

98. Early retirement, which is becoming more popular, is one of the means of increasing the leisure time available. Some companies have relaxed their policies and now encourage such action.

Potential Impact

The Conference Board, an independent research organization, published a study of more than 640 major manufacturing companies and noted that most of the companies surveyed had early retirement provisions; in recent years, about 30% had liberalized early-retirement provisions; the median company reported that 10% of its retirements in a particular year were early departures. Reasons to take early retirement include illness; layoffs; relocation of the company; an opportunity to drop controversial persons; and the desire of some workers to start a second career. The usual rule has been to allot 1% of salary for each year worked. (BN327)

The Department of Defense (and the included military Services) is the only government department that funds its own retirement programs. In view of the size of DOD retirement rolls, this budget category gives a somewhat distorted total in the DOD annual budget. Interest in reducing the future retirement rolls will continue to increase, and innovative schemes toward that end will be sought. Early retirement will reduce some fund amounts but not numbers of people. The "single government career" proposed by Janowitz provides another approach. The basic solution lies in reinterpreting what service constitutes a career warranting entry on retirement rolls. This may be difficult to do, in view of the likelihood of serial careers, flexibility in work patterns, and even portability of pension rights.

99. Companies that have had early-retirement programs for several years say that the number of employees opting to leave early is increasing; but in most areas the figure is still far less than one-quarter of those eligible—perhaps only about 10%. Reasons seem to be mainly money, in that a pension taken up earlier is usually smaller, and Social Security does not begin until 62. There is also the factor of psychological satisfaction derived from working. (BN530)

100. IBM has begun an early-retirement program in an effort to correct a temporary imbalance in their personnel resources; it supplements normal attrition by being open only to employees who have had 25 years service with IBM. It calls for a special payment to workers of twice their annual salary over a 45-month period, in addition to regular retirement benefits, if they elect to retire early from the company. (BN468)

101. Various types of firms have experimented with a four-day week, usually with favorable results.

Zenith Life Insurance (Chicago) has made its 4-day, 35-hour routine permanent, with one-half of its 33 employees working Monday-Thursday, 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., and one-half Tuesday-Friday. The company found that recruiting was easier, overtime pay went down, absenteeism decreased, and morale "vastly improved."

The Police Department of Pontiac, Michigan went on a 4-day, 10-hour-a-day routine. Response time on emergency calls went down, arrests increased by 9%, and absenteeism dropped by 16%.

If 3-day "weekends" become national, then they will have to be staggered to ease pressure on recreational facilities. (BP90)

102. After experimenting with a four-day, 34-hour work week (Fridays off), one company found that work is getting done with more office comaraderie. Legal holidays are not taken but absorbed in the "day off." (BN404)

103. The Salt Lake City Latter Day Saints Hospital, instead of using a four or five-day, 35-hour work week, put the chemistry department on a one-week-on, one-week-off schedule, with a 70-hour work week, for one year. They found that productivity, and work quality have improved, absenteeism has declined, and employees like the system. (BS15)

104. The United States Civil Service Commission has suggested that overtime be paid for on the basis of hours over 40 hours a week instead of hours over 8 hours a day. Such a policy would make it financially possible for government and

other offices to switch to a four-day week. (BN35)

105. Some occupations have found the longer work day required during a four-day work week to be too demanding on some employees. Nurses in the surgical unit at the New Indiana University Hospital tested a four-day week, 10-hour day system for 3 months. Both married and single nurses rejected it as being too tiring. The six-month experiment was canceled half way through the experiment. (BN325)

106. A "gliding" system was adopted by an airline. Employees have 2-1/2 hours of leeway, for beginning in the morning and 3-1/2 hours leeway for leaving at the end of their working day. This allows employees to adjust to their own leisure and work schedule. They work the required number of hours, but within these loose limits. 95% of the workers found the system a great help and convenience. Not one employee registered a protest. The gliding system cannot be applied easily to field offices but has been extremely successful in this headquarters office. (BN316)

#### Predictions

107. If the amount of leisure is increased by decreasing the number of hours worked instead of shortening the work week, the status of professional work might change.

To the extent that recruitment into the service professions is greatly expanded because of the reduced need for people in manufacturing, routine aspects of public administration, and automated administrative and managerial tasks, several problems will arise. One is that it will be perhaps more difficult to recruit people to do difficult and demanding work that either requires long and arduous training or requires working under difficult, dangerous, or frustrating conditions. If the hours of work of people in these professions go down severely, the incentives and psychological functions of membership in the profession may be somewhat diluted. For example, a hospital may have three head nurses if there are three shifts; what happens, however, when there are six or eight shifts? To what extent is authority, expertise,

and satisfaction diluted when power, responsibility, and status are so fractionated?

108. Besides the increasing amount of leisure time, other current benefit trends include pension portability, educational benefits, periodic cost-of-living increases to pensioners, yearly physical examinations, longer vacations, and group purchasing plans. New employee benefits may include more profit sharing, employee-retraining as part of severance benefits, custodial care, optional retirement at age 55, flexible working periods, and more generous time off for socially desirable pursuits. (BM94)

109. Employee benefits in the post-industrial society which will probably increase in size and scope: cost-of-living adjustment for all plans; equal types of benefits for white- and blue-collar workers; conversion of blue-collar categories to salary; increase in diversity of benefits available, permitting wider individual choice and individually tailored programs, different intracompany benefits packages (one set for older employees, another for younger employees); medical coverage extended to cover new prosthetics (artificial hearts, etc.). The cost of these employee fringe benefits will soon exceed 25 percent of wages and salaries. (BM94)

110. Roger Revelle says that recreation is no longer a mere adjunct to work but is a human need in a hyperproductive society. Providing facilities for leisure and recreation will tax our capabilities. By the year 2000, the labor force will probably have three-day weekends and a month vacation. This means that people will actually have half a year off in which to consume leisure goods and services. (BM43)

111. Riesman argues that:

Most workers take the world much more for granted, are psychologically more "adjusted" and politically less adventurous than the concept of alienation might predict. Such workers enjoy the hedonistic fruits of the "system" and suffer its deprivations less than intellectual onlookers often suppose; and their bitterness is mixed with sufficient hope and good humor to make a focussed indignation unlikely.

In an essay in Individualism Reconsidered ('Recreation and the Recreationists') I recommended the establishment in the federal government of an Office of Recreation, charged with making plans for greatly increased recreational facilities and personnel, once disarmament and underemployment freed resources for this purpose. (BM43)

112. ...Even if one imagines the ordinary member of the labor force amply supplied with intricate technology affording innumerable needs and luxuries during his short work week, and even if he can travel anywhere in the less-developed world and easily buy vast quantities of domestic service and other personal attentions during his long vacation, many important consumer items are likely to remain too expensive for him to wish his work week to become too short. There will probably still be a class of "luxury items," consisting of such things as vacation houses in extremely exotic places, advanced or "sporty" personal vehicles such as perhaps ground-effect machines, or similar items for the most part well beyond today's technology and prohibitively expensive for ordinary workers by today's standards, that by the year 2000 will be still expensive, but perhaps within reach of the man who is interested in earning enough money—and many, no doubt, will be interested.

(BB170)

113. A Gordon and Helmer Delphi panel considered the social implications of a 100-year life span for white male babies born in the United States:

Greater leisure communities may be formed to resemble periods from the past. This artificial return-to-a-more

Potential Impact

The Navy may eventually desire to establish a substantial department for Recreation and Leisure.

Potential Impact

Many members of the Navy may regard leisure as opportunity for earning extra income. The Navy may be pressed to provide an increasing number of such opportunities.

gracious-age would provide retired citizens with a choice of, for example, colonial or gay nineties cities having modern advantages but requiring strict adherence to the mores and technology of the era.

Second careers, travel, and community service will keep life meaningful for the elderly, thus reducing the risk of their increased alienation from society. This trend should become quite strong in the 1980s. (BM94)

#### Forms of Leisure

114. Many different leisure activities are available. Travel may become even more popular and be an expanding industry. Loafing will be a leisure activity, as there will be more people waiting to use recreational facilities. Extended vacations with little diminution in the hours worked per week may be in vogue because of a need to share jobs, the number of people being updated and re-educated, and the trend to 24-hour operations. Recreation will be an enormous industry and a source of jobs for many of the unskilled. (BB232)

115. Seeking sensation and novelty per se will become recreational goals. Growing population, cheaper production and distribution will result in the steady growth of special-interest--books, magazines, radio programs, and newspapers.

News will be sensationalized for the general public. Safe, non-habit-forming drugs will provide the most intensive exposure to new experiences. They will be good if they in fact broaden and sharpen the sense of self and the larger universe. If they discourage participation in the operations of the organized complexity of society, they will be a threat and probably outlawed. Restricted use will provide a stimulus for their growth through organized criminal activity.

Advocations and hobbies will abound. These will foster the growth of probable special-interest markets. Forms will be devised to occupy the free time of the poor, the underemployed, and the unemployed. (BB232)

Potential Impact

116. By the 1980's, leaders will be concerned with leisure and how best to fit it into a society where working hours are shorter and where there is a growing emphasis on learning and relearning. Who gets more leisure may emerge as a serious political problem. We may assume youth will have less leisure time, as school hours increase and vacation time decreases. Professional students will have less time for leisure. Non-professional students' time will be less structured in school. Those with the most hours and money to spend in leisure will fall between over-worked "social servants" and the underpaid-underskilled. An increasing use of cybernation in the home, prepackaged home services, longer school hours, etc., will free the housewife for establishing the style and direction of leisure activities. (BB232)

117.

From the nagging friction between manual and mental workers it is safe to predict that, under anything like our present value system, any further attenuation of the link between disagreeable work and receipt of income will give rise to more serious conflicts, both between people and within individual psyches. Already, second-generation and third-generation recipients of relief hand outs are said to form a pariah group, inhabiting The Other America. It is certainly plausible to blame a great part of our current alienation, mental illness, and crimes of

There are a number of adverse characteristics of jobs—very hard jobs, very dirty jobs, very dangerous jobs, jobs with very long hours, and other characteristics that become undesirable in certain circumstances (isolated, noisy, etc.). If the number of hours declines, and there is general unwillingness to perform other work, there may emerge considerable differentials in pay for jobs that are hard, dirty, or dangerous, or all three—steeple-jacks, deep-pit miners, sandhogs, deep-sea divers, etc. The military forces, even outside battle conditions, include a number of dangerous jobs; but most military jobs are counterparts of civilian jobs. Even in the military, the spread of an environment of limited work and much leisure will probably lead to demands for premiums for doing the jobs avoided by the majority.

violence to these particular pariahs, who can neither find work above relief scales or reconcile themselves to life without working. (BB16)

118. Riesman notes the paradoxical "distribution of leisure and work, so that those with the most exciting work tend to have the least leisure, while those whose work is boring are deluged with more leisure than their lives can endure. (BB286)

119. In addition to the growing importance of leisure, other forces are at work to change our economic values. Often these forces operate at cross purposes, so that it becomes impossible to predict what new economic values will emerge. The rise of the super-welfare state in the United States, with increased emphasis on physical well-being and comfort, economic security, and social justice will de-emphasize the values of self-reliance, freedom from interference, and privacy. Massive urban sprawl (overcrowding) along with an increased emphasis on appreciation of natural beauty and the environment may be accompanied with a de-emphasis on physical well-being and comfort, and convenience in style of life. (BB16)

120. What man's real purpose is in a productive society has become a fundamental question. The tool of automation, the computer, may also serve as a tool to control the changing production process and economy. A data base to provide comprehensive and current information on completed and in-process work and statistics dealing with automation-society relationship can be developed. Research is needed to generate ideas on automation—society relationships from the standpoints of curriculum-development, economic measurement, technical forecasting, labor and management policies, and planning for change. (BM129)

121. There are indications that the technology of automation is readily available, but that economic factors and natural human resistance to change have impeded its application to the analysis of social problems. The future will require a change in factors for determining the degree of application of automation. Now the major factor is economic payback, but human needs will predominate as automation

is applied to solving public problems. This requires system management.

Automation means the ultimate divorce of man from the machine as an integral part of its operation. This is perhaps the greatest blessing of automation. (BM129)

122. In sum, as Farson observes,

By today's definition, leisure means time-off-from-work. Work, today, means labor-for-pay. Many authorities believe that this kind of labor will be done by a relatively small percentage of the population, so that the chances for many of us to have jobs in the traditional sense will be limited. In the world of post-technical man our whole idea of the usefulness of things and of people will be quite changed. For the past 200 years, we have been thoroughly imbued with the way to achieve self-respect is to work hard, deny the present for the sake of the future, be of service to others. But as we move away from the Protestant ethic, in which we seek work as an in itself, we will see a fusion of work and play. Play will be our work; work will be our play. We will demand the right to occupy ourselves with deeply fulfilling activities. (BF13)

123. Skill and merit in endeavors which are not economically productive but which are socially beneficial, will be appreciated and rewarded. (BM94)

## LEGAL, SOCIAL AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

1. Nicholas Rescher predicts that:

With an increasing dependence on and need for institutions, we may reasonably expect an increased respect for institutions and an upgrading of institutional values and the social ethic generally. The decline of independence may be looked upon to undermine the traditional individualistic (and even anarchic strain) in American life with its concomitant duality towards laws, rules, and law-abidingness.

2. Our increasing reliance on institutions will up-grade and strengthen institutional values. Note that the present-day revolt of the American Negro is not so much a rebellion against American institutions as a protest on the part of those who look on themselves as outsiders excluded from them. The current remedies to the exclusion problem (e.g., the War on Poverty and the Job Corps) are of a strictly institutional character. So are various of the means to solve the problem of youth anomie by creating institutional means for helping the young to find 'meaning in life' by socially useful service (e.g., Peace Corps). Such ventures represent an institutionalization of idealism. This phenomenon, of institutionalizing values, is becoming sharply intensified. (BBI6)

3. Some predictors consider it inevitable that the trend toward institutional interdependence will ensure that the degree of social regulation will increase. Meanwhile, this trend is being countered by an increasing individuality. However, during some future time of social or political crisis, the nostalgia for a perceived order might combine with a sense of uneasiness to make people want a more regulated society. (BM34, 60)

4. The coming rapid transfer of knowledge, and advancing analytical methods in communications and coordination make planning feasible and inevitable. Deliberate planning and management of the American future will become widespread, so that eventually the planner will displace the lawyer as the key social legislator

and manipulator. (BM43)

### Social Institutions

5. A number of authors believe that there is a distinct upper class that governs America and controls its institutions — not a small clique of Wall Street bankers, or a number of power elites governing the nation, but a class. Their methodology is usually to establish the existence of this power elite by using social registers, blue books, directories of directors, etc. The power elite consists of the upper class, plus the people who work for it — managers, executives, lawyers, writers, directors. It is said that one of the best examples is the Council on Foreign Relations, membership of 1400, about half of whom are listed in the Social Register. Of the 82 names John F. Kennedy sent to the State Department for staffing, 63 were in the Council. This real or imagined distinct upper governing class has become the target of some of the critics of the existing institutional structure. (BNI79)

6. One author defines radicalism as desire for fundamental social change in the relationship of man to man, to his institutions, and to the apparatus of his civilization.

### Potential Impact

To finesse elitist allegations, the Navy may well seek to constitute membership of various advisory boards and councils on broader bases, drawing members from different levels, groups, and age-cohorts of society. While still seeking excellence, and still seeking influential allies in civilian society, the Navy may find that over-concentration on traditional elite sources will become counter-productive.

In the past five years there have been a series of events, which in retrospect, seem more to have illuminated and hastened our difficulties than caused them. The first of these came on June 8, 1964, when President Johnson ordered an attack on Communist antiaircraft installations in Laos, and began the chain of offensive escalations whose consequences were to call forth a fundamental challenge to the structure and values of the entire society. In all our history, only the Civil War can lay claim to a social impact equal to the war in Vieinam. The second event, whose timing was not unrelated to the war, was the riots in the Northern ghettos. For the first time the racial problem was national and had assumed a radically different form. (BN2I2)

7. The Hawaiianization of race relations in the United States will increase the emphasis on equality and civil rights, social justice and human dignity. (BBI6)

8. A radical neo-Marxian interpretation of America's past has been educating many of the young to new historical insights and now is poised to infiltrate the textbooks of the 1970's. The critic asks the question: Who is to carry the reform impulse into the system? Democrats are locked into a New Deal labyrinth, stricken with anomie. Liberal Republicans have also abandoned relevancy, as their party moves right. Radicals are playing it cool, being careful about winning when it requires them to be more like the enemy; yet the counter-tradition is dug in. (BP386)

9. One interesting manifestation of this dissatisfaction with the existing institutional structure and its values comes in a New York Times report of an increase in the number of New Yorkers leaving the city to settle abroad. Those leaving give reasons ranging from foul air and pressures of city life to the generation gap. (BN473)

10. Another source says the principal reason given for the unprecedented exodus of Americans to other countries is that the political system is not responding to social needs. (BN163)

11. The religious institutions of society have not escaped impact from current cultural and social change. Some clergy have become critics; for example, sociologist-priest Andrew Greeley describes the basic crisis in the priesthood as a crisis over authority. There is a decline in vocations. In the past many careers were born of the personal enthusiasm priests were able to convey to younger men. Now they are reluctant to recommend the priesthood, so long as the vocation has such an "uncertain future." (BP4I3)

12. The role of the missionary is undergoing change, and the number is declining. Recent figures show 33,000 Protestant and 8,500 Catholic missionaries serving in 200 foreign countries; there are more American missionaries than those of any other nationality. Reasons cited for the decline include: a general leveling-off of giving to churches (and reduced buying power of the American dollar); the liberal trend, de-emphasizing uniqueness in Christianity; past successes in developing indigenous churches; the turn to emphasis on secular humanism at home; changes in attitudes towards foreign missionaries in ex-colonies, which are now independent, e.g., India, Burma, China; and more emphasis on practical needs of the whole man (e.g., agents of change who teach agriculture and other skills). The spirit in some countries now says: "We don't need missionaries. We need brothers, who will come to work with us." (BN32I)

13. Marshall McLuhan in Understanding Media observed that, "Automation is information, and it not only ends jobs in the world of work, it ends subjects in the world of learning. It does not end the world of learning. The future of work consists of learning a living (rather than earning a living) in the automation age... As the age of information demands the simultaneous use of all our faculties, we discover that we are most at leisure when we are most intensely involved, very much as with the artists in all ages." (BMI39)

14. The expression of market values within the school system may become rare. There are, according to Green, four basic patterns of educational values: the managerial, the traditional, the religious, and the humanistic. The managerial — which is predominant today — is concerned with the "product" of the school system,

as evaluated in terms of aggregate social values. (BM70)

15.

The schools provide human resources for other institutions especially the economy and the military. Traditional education is concerned with the preservation of social memory; religious education with the sense of the holy. The aim of humanistic education is to "cultivate the 'independence' of each 'individual' and develop each person to the fullest." To combat the narrowness which stems from our managerial orientation, value pluralism is needed. And the creation of true value pluralism requires a massive commitment to "humanistic education."

(BM70)

16.

The quest for knowledge and understanding is uniquely human, but we often act as though people must be driven to it by competition for grades, by discipline or fear of failure, by all sorts of pressures. In the future, learning will be an integral part of creative living; we will be studying and learning throughout our lives because it is as enjoyable as becoming a good skier or improving one's backhand. Leading educationists have broadened their concept of education so that they now talk about it in terms of experiences that develop the total person. So the concept of "learning" will be broadened to include the affective, emotional, interpersonal dimensions as well as the cognitive, intellectual aspects of development. We are beginning to realize that learning must encompass all these dimensions if people are to live fully human lives in the world of machines, to cope with unceasing change and enjoy it, to meet the human social problems of such a world. So we will be educating for awareness, for honesty, intimacy, and interpersonal competence — and people will continue to develop these skills, too, throughout their lives. (BFI3)

17.

Influences on education are emerging in different ways — one is what Riesman calls "grade inflation," which is occurring widely and rapidly. Analysis of average grades at the University of Wisconsin and Northwestern are illustrative:

	<u>1965-1966</u>	<u>1970-1971</u>
Wisconsin	2.5	2.8
Northwestern	2.7	3.0
<p>At Harvard in 1961, half graduated with honors; in 1971, over 2/3. At Illinois, 1964-1965, 16% were expelled or probationed for low grades; in 1971, 3.7%. Leroy S. Burwen, Director of Institutional Research at San Francisco State, studied over 435 colleges and universities and discovered an overall shift from 2.4 (1960) to 2.56 (1969) — in big, small, public, and private institutions.</p>		<u>Potential Impact</u>
<p>However, Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores have declined; entering freshmen in 1966 averaged 471 out of 800 in the Verbal portion; in 1971, the average was 454.</p>		This trend of grade inflation and similar changes may well be establishing expectations in young people who will enter the Navy of more and higher expressions of approval than is customary in the Navy. Graders and evaluators in the Navy are less likely to have "lost their nerve" or to regard objective evaluation as being "elitist." Some tensions may arise in the Navy over evaluation standards between younger and older evaluators. Tensions may also arise with young people who have the talent, and who put forth the effort, to excel. When they do excel, many expect recognition.

Some insist that students are more serious than in the turbulent 1960's. Others insist that attitude changes in teachers are responsible; some young teachers regard grades as outdated, punitive, irrelevant. One should only encourage effort, not reward achievement. If given, grades should compensate for social and ethnic disadvantages. Older professors say some teachers have lost their nerve and self-

confidence, and scramble for the approval of students. (BN416)

18. Riesman contends that the trend stems from the shift from large lectures and impersonal grading to small seminars and more generous grades. He sees this as part of an anti-elitist trend among young faculty, who do most of the grading.

We've gone from the gentleman's C to the anti-gentleman's B-, so that anti-authoritarianism is felt as a bond between young faculty and their students ...[they] tend to side with youths against the older professors. They "refuse to categorize humans." Some argue for pass-fail or even abolition of "C" as a "punitive connotation of moral judgement." Some agree that faculties have some obligation to make distinctions in ability and achievement among students to assist society in hiring, etc.; but that they have no obligation to foster the competitiveness of society. (BN416)

#### Business Institutions

19. One report suggests that, in the next five years, business will continue to move away from the traditional view (one of business operating in a free market, with its primary function being to make a profit, and social contribution being the individual's or government's responsibility) toward one that might be considered more progressive (that business has responsibility for its products and its social interfaces, both within the company with respect to its employees and outside of the company with respect to society); certainly, the radical forces of action in society will be pressing for business to move more fully to the activist ethic (that business has the responsibility to act and promote action and utilize its strengths wherever it finds immorality or impropriety in society). (BM62)

20. In the United States today some 70% of the work force is employed in the service industries. We are clearly in the midst of an "amenities revolution" with the bulk of work-effort no longer devoted to the production of

things needed to make life livable, but diverted to the production of amenities to make life pleasant. As such, "amenity resources" become more and more extensively developed. There is little doubt that an erosion will take place among the relevant values, with lessened emphasis upon various aspects of "welfare," especially in its remedial aspects. (This, of course, also creates a situation in which events consequent upon the realization of one value may lead to an added emphasis upon others—so that the realization of economic security may create insecurities in other sectors.) (BB16)

21. More institutions which give businessmen new points of view may develop. An example of such an organization is the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, which offers seminars for businessmen who go there to think, stimulate their minds, and broaden their intellectual horizons. The Institute seeks to stimulate new modes of thinking and to expose business executives to different ideas and intellectual trends. (BN423)

22. A conclusion reached by a Delphi panel of heterogeneous composition indicates there is a widespread belief among certain groups that business should exert significant influence over domestic and foreign policy in order to instigate national policy changes which these groups would consider to be in the public interest. Therefore, according to this view, an effective means of instigating national policy change is to induce business to take the initiative in promulgating changes.

Among the actions proposed by the panel many were associated with lobbying or other attempts of business to influence government. In all but four cases these actions were deemed to have an effect in the direction anticipated by business. In further support of this conclusion, there are a number of anti-war protests which have been based on economic boycotts of various manufacturers' products, even though these may be unrelated to the war. The apparent rationale is this: bring economic pressure to bear on various industries and perhaps they will be motivated to influence the government to end the war. (BM62)

23. Profitable operation of business is expected to continue, and profitable solutions to social problems generally will be welcomed. Of all the goals examined, the maintenance of reasonable profits by business was thought to be the most probable by the Delphi panel as a whole, as well as by the sub-groups of students and of businessmen who participated. The panel consistently forecasted that business involvement in fields such as the development of anti-pollution industries, low-cost housing, and low-cost transportation systems would be viewed as helpful by the involved groups; in fact, the suggested action, "develop methods by which profit margin can be increased through social involvement," was considered likely both to occur and to be viewed as desirable. (BM62)

24. Public-relations and advertising campaigns publicizing minor business contributions to social issues will not be credible. The panelists considered a total of fourteen advertising or public-relations actions. They judged that it was likely that businesses would implement twelve of the fourteen, and that in ten of the cases the programs would have no appreciable effect on the attainment of the goals; in only one case was the action rated desirable. Furthermore, both business and students in the panel forecasted that some means of advertising control would be adopted prior to 1975; this legislation would lead, they thought, to court action in the case of inaccurate, false, obscene, immoral, or irrelevant advertising. (BM62)

25. The turmoil in which business currently finds itself can be expected to continue at least through 1975. This conclusion is based on several of the panel's forecasters. The relative improbability of attainment of goals to which radical groups are tenaciously devoted suggests continued militant action to attain those goals. Among the "hot" goals with less than a 50:50 chance of attainment are:

- a. reduction of economic disparities between whites and non-whites in the United States, the percentage per capita differential diminishing by at least 30% of current levels;

- b. reduction of differential unemployment rates for blacks and people under twenty by 50%;
- c. reeducation of armed international conflict—no conflict anywhere larger than the Nigerian War in terms of deaths and injuries;
- d. changes in the criteria for measuring corporate success, profits being deemphasized in favor of indicators measuring beneficial effects of corporate operations on society; and
- e. reduction in sex discrimination in the work force—at least 10% of all executive positions being held by women. (BM62)

26. Militant actions will be directed against business by radical groups in an effort to gain their ends. There were several direct forecasts of militant action, including:

- a. Increases in incendiary and explosive bombing directed against industrial facilities, public utilities, and railroads. According to the group's median opinion, this event was though possible; but the businessmen in the group thought it probable.
- b. Assassination or kidnapping of at least one corporation leader. The median estimate was "possible."
- c. Threats of anti-personnel bombings to keep people away from work. The median was again "possible." (BM62)

27. Other means of protest and coercion will be used with increasing frequency in the next five years. The forecasts of other kinds of action which were deemed possible included:

- a. Lawsuits based on sexual discrimination increasing by a factor of 10;
- b. One thousand incidents of picketing or sit-ins at businesses per year;
- c. Stockholder meetings increasingly becoming a place for confrontations;
- d. Continued harrassment of on-campus recruiters; and

e. Great increases in stockholder-sponsored resolutions in an attempt to set corporate policies. (BM62)

28. Among the interesting suggestions for business actions made by the respondents were:

- a. Increasing of quality control standards by corporations and initiating intra-industry programs of voluntary policing in order to improve product safety and quality;
- b. Establishing more "departments of social concern" or of "public affairs" with policy-making authority within corporations;
- c. Seeking greater involvement of the black community in implementing training programs for the hard-core unemployed;
- d. Seeking federal regulations of all competing industries to promote the introduction of anti-pollution measures (in this way, none of the companies would suffer a competitive disadvantage by introducing such measures);
- e. Company-sponsored training of engineers and designers to promote consideration of both manufacturing and social costs in product design;
- f. Instituting regular TV and radio broadcasts and newspaper features on product quality and social policies of various companies; and
- g. Initiating a social-audit function within corporations, analogous to a financial audit, in which an impartial panel of citizens would evaluate existing corporate programs and ways in which corporations could be more socially responsive. (BM62)

29. The students who contributed to this study were more skeptical than the businessmen about the possibility of attaining most of the radical goals by 1975. (BM62)

30. A number of additional conclusions could be drawn from the general nature of the business actions proposed by the respondents:

- a. Activists groups will consider private-sector actions desirable if those actions promote the activists' goals.

b. Business contributions to social issues may be viewed as unacceptable if the public pays for them directly through increased costs (but spreading the costs through taxes or other means may be acceptable).

c. Militant action by business might backfire. (BM62)

31. Some other social events were forecasted by the panel which will probably have significance for business. These included:

- a. Twenty-five percent of employees switching careers at least once before age 40—judged probable;
- b. Drug use becoming as major a problem to business as alcohol is now—possible;
- c. Tax deductions permitted for 90% of cost of child care—possible;
- d. Federalization of certain industries—possible;
- e. Major world famine—possible;
- f. Economic recession—unemployment 9% or more—possible;
- g. Computer crime becoming a major concern in the United States—possible;
- h. Legislation to halt sales of polluting automobiles—possible; and
- i. Discontinuance of efforts to develop the supersonic transport—possible. (BM62)

32. In general, among the goals considered, those supported by business were viewed as more likely to be achieved, and those opposed by business less likely to be achieved. In general, the group appeared to reason that business would support the two goals which reflected improved profits (maintenance of reasonable profits and trading with Communist countries), but would oppose those goals which suggested diminished profits or challenged corporate integrity (e.g., reduction of atmospheric and water pollution, halting trade with racist regimes, and change in the criteria for corporate success). While the number of goals considered was not large, those which business supported were seen to have a 50:50 or greater chance of occurring by 1975; those which business opposed were generally seen to have less than a 50:50 chance of occurring by 1975. (BM62)

33. Some view the executive as Social Activist, believing the businessman can and should: concentrate on promoting blacks as well as hiring and training them; expand assault on social problems to include some new fields (urban mass transit; drug rehabilitation); re-examine "strictly business" decisions (there is little that business does that does not affect society); sell more nutritious food to the poor; bring people and jobs together (moving to industrial "parks" and suburbs puts jobs out of reach of slumdwellers).

How far should business go to help society: Some businessmen make a case that social programs should be considered not as an expense or inconvenience but as an investment in survival — for the nation. The leaders of business can protect the system only by showing that it can indeed bring the good life to all Americans. (BB16)

#### Law and Order and Institutions

34. One analysis of the conflict which erupted in New Haven may be relevant. Professor Alexander M. Bickel in his articles on the "Tolerance of Violence" noted that,

We [the faculty and administration of Yale] did not return a rational answer to our students, because we were too alone and it was too late. If we had said what is true, that the trial [of the Black Panthers in New Haven] was no crisis, that it was inconceivable not to let it proceed, and that there is no reason to equate the police in Chicago with the courts in New Haven and with the state and federal courts that sit to correct the errors of courts in New Haven; and if we had added that the university would continue to function, its members being held to no more than their normal duties (which do not include constant attendance at class) and no less — if we had said all that we would have been denounced as rigid, unresponsive, authoritarian; we would have risked riots and destruction and been saddled with responsibility for possible police overreaction. That is what it has come to. Truth and the function of the university are irrelevant and dangerous. They are pitfalls. I have to be grateful, and I am grateful, that we avoided these pitfalls, and that

we had steady and shrewd leadership which saved us whole. (BP40)

35. The build-up of internal conflict between the New Left and the New Right may result in the creation of a massive law-and-order movement in the 1970's. Incentives will be offered to cities and citizens to reduce the ease with which various crimes can be committed (e.g., rewards for cities to light their streets or for citizens to lock cars). (BM94)

36. The law and its institutions — the police, the courts, and the prisons — have become a target of criticism from both the right and the left for allowing too much change or not enough. Milton Katz comments:

It is a strength and a glory of American culture that it understands law not only as a structure embodying and vindicating old values but as a shaping process that accommodates change while stabilized by principle. So understood, law need not automatically fight the future but can "civilize it."

In prosecuting those whose acts have been defined as criminal there is a conflict between two broad functions: to protect the person and maintain law and order, and to assure fair trials to accused persons and protect citizens from possible abuse by authority. (BMII8)

37. Police forces will be more adequately trained as professionals in dealing with criminal law enforcement and will be compensated at dramatically increased levels. This trend will increase strongly in the last half of the 1970's. Police forces will take advantage of new technologies. For example, new police communication services will be developed. Policemen will never be out of communication with the police station, and they could have entire conversations with suspects monitored and recorded. Search warrants could be transmitted electronically by facsimile where haste is desired. (BM94)

38. Lawyers will also use technology. A practicing attorney might have in his office a means for convenient electronic connection to a huge national

control repository of all the facts, rules, procedures, and precedents that he needs.  
(BBI8)

39. There will be a radical reorganization of the criminal-court system during the 1970's, which will begin to have a major impact after 1975. We probably will see the appointment of stricter and less sentimental judges at every level, as well as the amendment of certain federal and state court decisions which have made law enforcement more difficult. (BM94)

40. Reforming criminals has lagged behind apprehending and trying them. Prisons seem to have further disillusioned the inmates with society's values. An analysis of the revolt at Attica focusing on the role of the chaplain stressed the order in which destruction was carried out and the objects that were destroyed: first, the prisoners desecrated the chapel and destroyed the chalice, altar, vestments, etc.; next, they destroyed the school books; third, they destroyed industry areas, work areas.

It appeared that prisoners were destroying those symbols of the establishment which they considered to be the most oppressive or perhaps meaningless parts of prison life. They may believe that these destroyed things serve as props or bulwarks of the system that repress them. Whether all of the men think this is questionable,

Potential Impact

The armed forces have exercised somewhat unique, somewhat universal roles in relation to criminal behavior. For one thing, the armed forces operate according to a separate Code of Military Justice, approved by Congress as provided for in the Constitution. This system includes a structure of courts, a military legal profession, military police, and military guard-houses, brigs, stockades, and prisons. It has long been the practice in some civilian courts to offer habitual young offenders the option of enlisting in a military service rather than undergo a prison sentence. The armed forces have always resisted this practice (and the practice is declining), on the grounds that they have enough internal criminality to cope with, and that they should not be regarded as rehabilitation agencies for civilian communities as well. Still,

but the leaders may. Another idea is that the prisoners may have viewed these things as a fraud, a put on, something to cheat them out of what they wanted. Finally, perhaps the chaplains are the holier-than-thou types. They can be terribly condescending. They may have robbed the men of dignity. (BN418)

a number of innovative approaches to rehabilitation are being sponsored by the armed forces, some with considerable promise. The point of this comment is that among a number of new or expanded roles the Navy may be expected to undertake in the future in the area of social action, the rehabilitation of certain categories of offenders, particularly young offenders, may be included, very likely in conjunction with appropriate civilian agencies.

41. Those concerned with understanding and rehabilitating the criminal but who condemn society, must answer some difficult questions. Consider British society (see American Scholar, Autumn 1971), where heavy crime does not occur because the overwhelming proportion of the British society will not tolerate it. But the far more open American society tolerates much more individual freedom. How may crime be controlled without controlling the criminal? Where is the concern comparable for the victim of crime, for the right of the citizen to go unmolested by criminals?

The National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws has attempted to develop balanced answers. It issued its report in the form of a draft criminal code designed, for the first time in the nation's history, to pull all the scattered provisions into one comprehensive document. In doing so, the Commission made recommendations which include the following:

- (1) abolition of capital punishment;
- (2) marijuana possession be punishable only by fines; (3) private ownership of handguns be outlawed; (4) "private armies" would be outlawed; (5) homo-

Potential Impact

Almost all of these changes would generate comparable changes in the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

sexuality and other "deviate" sexual activity  
by consenting adults would not be a crime;  
(6) tough new policies would be imposed  
for fraudulent or monopolistic acts by  
corporations; (7) certain crimes committed  
by servicemen and some American citizens  
abroad would be tried in Federal Courts.

(BB335)

## PRESS AND OTHER MEDIA

1. We are already well into the period of inundation with words — printed organs multiply and circulation climbs, while radio and television and tape recorders and record players and Muzak are ubiquitous. Pope Paul has observed that a deluge of words makes people increasingly passive and superficial in their search for the truth, and their attempts to separate it from the half truth. Already, the young have developed one life style which involves being continuously encapsulated in sound. Developments on the horizon are predicted that will permit us to be accompanied (or threatened) by the capability for two-way communications at every instant.

The technical developments now proliferating have multiplied the influence of the media. We are not confident that those in control of the media realize what is happening to them; but the capabilities of evolving media roles have already achieved enormous impact on all social institutions, including the military, and will achieve more.

2. Resolution 10.3 of the 1971 White House Conference on Youth reads as follows:

"Resolved: We are concerned about the incredible strength of the media in all phases of our lives. We recognize the potential for danger that lies in this widespread penetration."

3. The following are some foreseen effects of proliferating communications media (i.e., in a large sense, living with information overload):

- This may become a world of too many acquaintances, too few friends, an absence of tranquillity, and a life of perpetual motion — frantic even by today's standards.

- There are signs of increasing concern for privacy, and desires for freedom from intrusion by unwanted communications.

- Revulsion may develop toward an excess of communications.

- Some see the need already for control and filtering techniques (e.g., a phone signal by a caller that his call is not urgent). (BM9)

4. One aspect of a "flight from communication" is evidenced in increasing recourse to unlisted telephone numbers, which serve a number of purposes for celebrities and politicians (for example, as some protection from fans and cranks); for women, from obscene phone callers; for the poor, from bill collectors; for many, from old, outgrown friends, former mates, salesmen, and burglars; and for many, a kind of reverse status symbol.

Of the more than 86 million homes subscribing to the Bell System, which accounts for 80% of the nation's phones, 11.4% had nonpublished numbers, and the number is growing. (In 1964, 7.3% of 60 million phones were nonpublished.)

In Los Angeles, 29% of phones were unlisted; in San Francisco, 23%; in New York, 21%; in Washington, D.C., 18.2%. (There is a distinction between the two categories: "nonpublished" means not in the phone book, but available from Directory Service; whereas "unlisted" means not available even from Directory Service.) (BN517)

5. We turn here to a general discussion of disturbing media effects. It is necessary to say that the American press is, on the whole, and despite its imperfections, a glorious institution. This discussion does not apply to those persons and organs of the media who continue to maintain high standards of reliance on facts, of fairness, of objectivity, and of reluctance to intrude their own judgments as superior substitutes for the judgments of public officials charged with public responsibilities.

6. The increasing media impact comes from the equipment itself — proliferating in type, number, location, force, and versatility. It also comes from the ways in which the media are used, particularly the competitive intensity which leads many media users to

Potential Impact

The military is highly vulnerable to the impact of the media, which, as the composite vehicle for saturating the American people with both distorted and undistorted accounts of the war in Vietnam, and with the violent,

forms of shouting and invective in order to gain attention out of the welter of attention claimants. It also comes from changes in the rationales used by the major media institutions themselves.

In recent years, there have appeared a number of new entrants into professional journalism, mostly young, who repudiate objectivity and insist on the appropriateness of their particular "commitment," which in practice means preconception or bias. From time to time, probably the whole spectrum of potential bias is represented; but in the social and political climate of these times, the most obtrusive and preponderant bias has been anti-organization, anti-Establishment, anti-government, anti-Vietnam War, anti-military, anti-American foreign policy. A number of major press institutions have adopted an adversary role toward government. On occasion (such as the case of the Pentagon Papers) the press has seemed to argue from a position that its role as guardian of the people's interests is at least equal to, of not superior to, that of the government. A number of novelists, pundits, columnists, and editorialists, have not hesitated to declare their own analyses of government,

destructive attacks of the anti-military groups in American society, must share responsibility as one of the prime architects, or at least masons, of current ambivalence and confusion. For example, the press did not create the incident at My Lai (neither did the military services, for that matter). But the press shares responsibility for the widespread impression that My Lai typified American military performance in Vietnam was characterized by the perhaps — 100,000 platoon incidents that did not result in My Lai's. The destruction in Vietnam resulting from the war is repeated over and over, but the construction attendant on the war in Vietnam is not known, for it is rarely mentioned. It is an old and still-valid charge against the media that sensational bad news is thoroughly covered, but far more significant good news is seldom covered. It is predicted that this approach will continue in the future. In view of irrational elements that achieve prominence, the effect on the armed forces may become more damaging. The military need to devise creative, imaginative approaches to defending the armed forces without hampering the operation of a free press. The military can hope to succeed only

foreign, military, and domestic policy to be superior to those of the President, the Congress, Secretaries of State and Defense, and responsible officials in almost every important field. At times, opinions have been expressed in terms of such contempt for the public officials involved as to represent low levels of taste and judgment. More important, some proportion of exploitation of access to the media includes misstatement and misrepresentation, in ways which are difficult or impossible to counter in order to get the account straight. Even more damaging is the rationale held by certain owners, controllers, and exploiters of the media that their distortions and loaded accounts are perfectly justifiable because they are undertaken in support of views which are right and morally superior.

This is an area that needs careful restudy by all concerned.

7. Man has nearly always preferred to get his information directly from another man. Impersonal means of information transfer are used only where the personal channels are lower quality (noise, incompleteness, lower speed) or impossible (the author is dead).

Reasons: (psychological and sociological) - man is a gregarious creature; (engineering) - a message is best communicated when the physical characteristics of the equipment of receiver and sender are close, other things

by uncovering, investigating, and announcing internal transgressions with greater speed, thoroughness, and candor. In the most fundamental sense, the relationship between press and military will always possess adversary aspects. But the military establishment of this nation should not be expected to accept whatever role it is cast in by the most venal and irresponsible elements of the media.

being equal. Feedback is important, including the visual accompaniment (facial expression, gesture) to speech. (BB242)

8. Riesman comments on information systems in mass media:

Although the pattern of this influence is complex it may be summed up in three tentative generalizations.

First, since popular culture is in essence a tutor in consumption, it teaches the other-directed man to consume politics and to regard politics and political information and attitudes as consumption goods. They are products, games, entertainments, recreations; and he is their purchaser, player, spectator, or leisure-time observer.

Second, the media, by their very sensitivity to pressure, have a stake in tolerance. But even where they are moralizers in intention, the mood of the audience of peer-groupers will cause the indignant message to be received in an unindignant way. This audience situation, moreover, leads to an emphasis not on what the media say in terms of content but on the "sincerity" of the presentation. This focus on sincerity, both in popular culture and in politics, leads the audience tolerantly to overlook the incompetence of performance.

Third, while there is a significant residue of inner-directed moralizing in American political news coverage and editorializing, it slows down but does not halt the persuasions exercised by popular culture in favor of other-directed tolerance and passivity. (BB289)

9. All other things being equal, the larger the scope of the medium, the more it tends to be produced in a mood of other-directed tolerance, and the less it makes an appeal to the indignant.

By going on with our present course of media performance and media criticism, we make it possible for the media to continue to uphold the prestige of the political even when, as for much of our life at present, the political is devoid of substantial content. (BB289)

### Miscellaneous Perspectives on the Media

10. One form of tension may come from the media's relentless exploitation of the extreme, e.g., in sports. More and more abnormal superdeveloped stars take over the most popular sports, as performances and records are pushed on and on. At times, one must reflect, should anyone really care if A jumps 1/4 inch higher than B and now holds the world record? What social need of man is served thereby? Eventually, performances may extend so far beyond the capability of the almost-totality of ordinary people, that performances become overpowering, distant, or irrelevant.

The same implications may hold for BIGNESS in any kind of organization or activity — government, commercial, or private.

The more the obsession (not confined to the media but most impactful there) grows with the biggest, the fastest, the richest, the strongest, etc., the more it becomes remote from ordinary life and ordinary people (not to mention the diversion of enormous financial reward by society for non-significant activities). With no possibility of finding acceptance through competing at such levels, many youth become alienated, and turn inward to self and to the small groups of "ordinary" peers for acceptance.

11. Fifty participants in the UN World Youth Assembly in 1970 took an unofficial tour of Harlem that was designed by its organizer, an American black militant, to show them "how this country exploits and oppresses its own people." After the tour, and commenting on an address on the Panther program, the delegate from Malta said,

Violence only breeds violence, but I can't blame him for his attitudes. I can't understand why America, which gives so much money away to foreign countries, is not able to solve its own problems.

Many of the delegates agreed after the tour, that Harlem conditions were worse than they had expected. Some of them accepted the militant rhetoric because, as one delegate put it: "I've not heard anyone else talk about this subject. This is the only point of view I've heard." (BN485)

12. A British general analyzed the course of American military-press relations over the Vietnam War: There were saturating effects, of course, from bringing one-sided television scenes of war nightly into American living rooms, for the first time in history during any war anywhere. While the totalitarians rigidly controlled any output from their side and manipulated a worldwide propaganda apparatus in the Communist states and their sympathizers (e.g., through elements in Sweden hostile to the United States), the anti-war lobby in the United States has been very successful. In open societies we need a free press, probing and creative; and the military needs to earn and keep the respect of the press. We can expect forthcoming exploitation of the media and media technology by the totalitarians against the interests of the free nations. However, the military usually lapses into silence when criticized; is this the viable course? (BP367)

13. The position of the American military under media coverage of the Vietnam War may be analogous to the position of Columbia University, in the city of New York, as described in early 1972 by Dr. William J. McGill, President of Columbia. He said that the media coverage of New York City "suggests the city is an armed camp..." "A verbal pollution filled with gross distortions, false charges and ridiculous claims" comes from conflicting forces in the city bent on manipulating the media for their own purposes by projecting the loudest voices.

Much of what concerns us about the deterioration of New York is manufactured of essentially psychological forces, and it can be modified by powerful and equally dedicated psychological efforts.

The present conflict, he said, has grown into 'A linguistic affront and a paranoid political style that is basically an attention-getting device suited to a culture of mass communication.'

No revolutionary movement is spontaneous; it is staged in meticulous detail. Every self-serving cause is accompanied by a staff of writers and a bank of mimeograph machines. (BN355)

14. Louis Harris, the public-opinion analyst, told the American Newspaper Publishers Association in April 1972, that the confidence of the American people in the press is declining. He compared these poll results:

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1972</u>
A good deal of respect for the press	29%	18%
Some respect for the press	50%	51%
Hardly any respect for the press	17%	26%

(BP444)

15. On May 4, 1972, Patrick Buchanan, a White House Staff member, criticized the award of the Pulitzer Prize to columnist Jack Anderson and the New York Times for publishing secret government papers. "What kind of lesson is that, really, for young journalists right now?" He charged bias against the Nixon Administration in the New York Times and the Washington Post and on the TV networks, which, he said, were moving far from the view of Middle America. (BP224)

16. Obviously, there is something to Buchanan's complaint. Edith Efron in her book The News Twisters reported on one quantitative aspect of the 1968 TV coverage of the Presidential candidates:

	Humphrey			Wallace			Nixon		
	ABC	CBS	NBC	CBS	NBC	ABC	ABC	CBS	NBC
Words for	4200	2400	1900	1100	1100	1400	900	300	400
Words against	3600	2100	2700	1300	1800	3400	7500	5300	4200

(BP432)

17. It is not news that a number of current works of literature, particularly dramas, have been accusatory in which the author adopts a preconception about some real-life situation and then writes a play committed to his bias (e.g., the Pope and the Jews in World War II, J. Robert Oppenheimer, the Rosenbergs). Literary license is said to excuse inaccuracy and misrepresentation, even concerning living people.

18. In a related activity, television has presented a number of dramas about the drug culture. The following comments were not produced by an adversary of television, but by the TV Guide of 13 March, 1971:

The Guide evaluated a flood of plays allegedly reflecting the contemporary white "drug culture," plays which soft-pedal or omit every major aspect of that "drug culture"; which strongly intimate that the guilt for the drug epidemic lies with white middle-class America and its traditional values; which morally whitewash the drug takers; and which portray their intense, medically-documented suffering. This is the dominant interpretation transmitted by network TV to America in the course of its alleged counterattack against the "drug culture." (BP116) But in the whole group of presentations, there was not one serious statement of individual responsibility.

19. An interesting discussion appeared, concerned with 30-odd new books dealing with revolution. It was noted, for one thing, that the editors who worked with the manuscripts tended to be young (late 20's or early 30's) and liberal in their political thinking. The editors felt that the authors (including Abbie Hoffman and Bobby Seale) wrote well and had something to say. Some felt that the books were so good that they would have been published even had they not been written by notorious persons. Editors unanimously attributed their houses' motives for publishing these books to something "higher than money." However, another author felt that revolution is, for the moment, chic, and that even though these books preach basically unusable and poorly founded tenets which are dangerous for the populace at large, they sell and are therefore printed. (BP362)

20. One of the most interesting, and apparently least noticed, surveys in the United States is one that attempts to determine which are the most fair and the least fair among organs of the press. Conducted by Seminar, a quarterly review for newspapermen, the survey polled 1800 journalists, educators, public-relations men, students, and advertising men, almost 200 responded. Each vote for "fair" was counted as a +1, and an "unfair" as a -1. The direction of unfairness, Right or Left, was immaterial. At the same time, the respondents were

asked to characterize the organ as "liberal" or "conservative." It is particularly interesting that some papers were liberal and some conservative, yet both were considered "fair"; naturally, some other papers of either persuasion were evaluated as "unfair."

The 1970 survey resulted, as have others, in the listing of the Christian Science Monitor as the most fair among American newspapers, followed closely by the Wall Street Journal. The New York Times barely make it into the "unfair" category, and the Washington Post well into the same "unfair" category. (BN223)

The following is the listing of 26 newspapers:

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Fairness or Unfairness Rating</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Conservative</u>
Christian Science Monitor	+85	32	41
Wall Street Journal	+81	5	72
Louisville Courier-Journal	+29	31	2
Los Angeles Times	+20	36	17
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	+14	24	5
Newsday	+12	17	3
Washington Star	+11	7	16
Miami Herald	+11	6	7
Des Moines Register	+10	6	10
Detroit Free Press	+ 9	8	8
Milwaukee Journal	+ 7	7	5
Atlanta Constitution	+ 6	7	4
Chicago Daily News	+ 6	11	8
Minneapolis Tribune	+ 5	7	6
Philadelphia Bulletin	+ 5	2	8
New York Times	- 3	87	15
Chicago Sun-Times	- 5	9	6
New Orleans Times-Picayune	-10	0	13
Phoenix Republic	-11	0	13
Dallas News	-12	0	16
San Francisco Chronicle	-13	21	5
San Diego Union	-15	1	46
Washington Post	-16	61	4
New York Daily News	-31	5	31
Indianapolis Star	-33	2	37
Chicago Tribune	-52	3	76

(BN223)

21. Americans who hear about students mostly from television do not understand the problems, because it is like looking down a long tunnel and getting a very narrow view of what is at the other end. Dr. Robert Smith, Vice President of Ohio State University, thinks TV's handling of a matter is contentious, as the student movement tends to nudge viewers toward extremist attitudes about it, and is thus a factor in the polarization of society. (BPI85)

22. In the words of Donald Brown, a psychologist at the University of Michigan: "The news-hungry media tend to fan the sparks of [campus] unrest by massive and immediate publicity...There is bound to be a generalization and spread of effect from campus to campus." There is little doubt that the nationwide publicity given to student protest leaders encourages the rise of such leaders on other campuses. (BP451)

23. There are signs of reaction setting in. Campus newspapers have made a conscious move back to objective news coverage after the turmoil of the late 1960's. Interest in social problems still exists, but "straight" reporting gets more attention now than "being obnoxious." The moderates have taken over, and in-depth coverage is emphasized. (BN367)

24. An interesting development in general media attitudes toward polls was reported in February 1972. The news media are becoming more cautious in their use of political polls. They are becoming more concerned about the identity of the sponsor of the poll; the definition of who were questioned and the number of people questioned; the indications of allowances for sampling error; whether the report covers a whole sample or one segment; when the questioning was done; and how the data were collected (e.g., by telephone, in person). (BN428)

#### Trends Concerning Visual Media

25. The day is already in sight when books, magazines, newspapers, films and other media will, like the Mustang, be offered to the consumer on a design-it-your-	<u>Potential Impact</u>
	While some research and data gathering seems to be compelled by the capability of the machines, it seems

self basis. Thus in the mid-sixties, Joseph Naughton, a mathematician and computer specialist at the University of Pittsburgh, suggested a system that would store a consumer's profile — data about his occupation and interests — in a central computer. Machines would then scan newspapers, magazines, video-tapes, films and other material, match them against the individual's interest profile, and instantaneously notify him when something appears that concerns him. The system could be hitched to facsimile machines and TV transmitters that would actually display or print out the material in his own living room. By 1969 the Japanese daily Asahi Shimbun was publicly demonstrating a low cost "Telenews" system for printing newspapers in the home, and Matsushita Industries of Osaka was displaying a competitive system known as TV Fax (H). These are the first steps toward the newspaper of the future — a peculiar newspaper, indeed, offering no two viewer-readers the same content. Mass communication, under a system like this, is "de-massified." We move from homogeneity to heterogeneity. (BB355)

inevitable that a quantum jump will be made in the not-too-distant future in personnel research. As indicated by predictions in this and many other sections, organizations will probably gather a great deal more data about their members than the largely demographic and performance data they now hold. For example, they will probably explore individual values and value systems, and perhaps gather psychological and sociometric data on attitudes, preferences, even on cognitive perceptions in various fields. The data could be used for a number of future purposes — perhaps, for example, selection systems. Media techniques cited here may prove adaptable.

26. A New York Times article of 1970 reported on the staggering amount of new information printed in academic journals. Some feel that it is simply a result of the "publish-or-perish syndrome." There are offers of "protection" from so much unwanted information by such organizations as the private corporation which produces a widely-used service called "Current Contents"; it simply reproduces the "Contents" pages of 4,000 "core" journals, with an order service for any articles that interest a subscriber. Others feel that the proliferation can

be traced to the growth in the number of scholars and the constant shifts in academic fashion which create new areas seeking outlets. Some feel that all the information is necessary and ought to be technologically controlled. Nevertheless, a feeling of insecurity is induced and is perhaps responsible for driving scholars into increasingly narrow avenues of specialty. (BN424)

27. One analysis carefully documented the changing nature and role of American magazines. In the United States, there are 500-550 magazines with circulation over 100,000; 80 with circulation over 1 million.

Some notable events: some major magazines have folded up (e.g., Look); some have reduced their physical size (e.g., Holiday, Fortune); some have deliberately reduced circulation (e.g., Life, reduced from 8.5 million to 7 million, and personnel from 680 to 360 in 2 years); some special fields are saturated (e.g., there are 2300 business publications; these will shake down to 1500, or even 1100); some large, general-circulation magazines are failing (e.g., Life, the New Yorker, Harper's, Harper's Bazaar, Holiday, McCalls).

Among the reasons ascribed are these: Climbing postal rates (up 110% in 10 years, more by 1976), increasing cost of paper; printing costs have risen 1/3 in 10 years; staff salaries have risen over 60%; most magazines have depended on advertising to cover 2/3 of their costs, but the limit has been exceeded; the cost of broad campaigns to attract new readers, for a usual return of 1%-3%, are now prohibitive.

It is now being realized that the size of circulation is not as important as the nature of the readership; it is a mistake to inflate circulation beyond the magazine's natural clientele by people who are not much interested and who do not renew.

Accordingly, there is a growing emphasis on high analyzed and selected lists which can "guarantee" buyers to advertisers, rather than millions of non-buying readers. This kind of

	<u>Potential Impact</u>
	The kinds of highly sophisticated analytical techniques cited here may have application in the Navy environment for official, semi-official,

analysis is called psychographics; familiar demographics (sex, age, occupation, income) are no longer enough — one must analyze life-styles related to buying patterns. Some use zip code selection; for example, in Washington, they proselyte only in the areas of Georgetown, Chevy Chase, Cleveland Park, and a few others.

Some have been successful with this tailored analysis:

New York, Cosmopolitan, Sports Illustrated, Woman's Day, Playboy, TV Guide, and Psychology Today. In general, these changes reflect rising education, increasing specialization, the increasing cost of keeping informed, the explosion of knowledge, and the fragmentation of intercommunications.

(BN565, BN568, BN566)

28. Barry is certain that 1984 will bring a technical revolution in both printing and distribution of news, comparable to the revolution caused by the invention of the printing press itself.

The newspaper of the future will be electronic; the mainstream of journalism will pass to television. TV will make inter-university and extra-manual education the rule. Properly used, these developments could help to catalyze the acceptance of one world.

Increasing public and private storage of information could hold promise for a more indigenous and creative community life, a challenging corrective to the canned entertainment and mass persuasion that make us all passive victims of

output from a central "pumping-station." Private electronic equipment could encourage locally and regionally a more vigorous cultural and political life. One can foresee contributions to the revitalization of urban communities. (BB58)

29. No other single phenomenon in American life has ever met with such acclaim as television. It took 80 years for the telephone to be installed in 34 million homes. It took 62 years for electric wiring, 49 years for the automobile, and 47 years for the electric washer to reach the same number of homes. Television made the giant stride in 10 years. (BP416)

30. Schlesinger observes that television, by its collectiveness and simultaneity, has fostered an intense desire for political self-expression and visibility, as it has spread the habit of instant reaction and stimulated more the hope of instant results. The theory is advanced that television, taken as a whole, is an essential element of the democratic process. Its position in the opinion-making process is this: Mr. Average American watches the news on TV and from it — that is, from seeing, for example, student demonstrations, angry Black Panthers, and angry poor people — forms his opinions of the state of the nation. These opinions appear in opinion polls and are used by politicians to form policy, which in turn makes news and begins the process again. (BS29)

#### Predictions

31. Toffler:

Television, therefore, may still be homogenizing taste; but the other media have already passed beyond the technological state at which standardization is necessary. When technical break-throughs alter the economics of television by providing more channels and lowering costs of production, we can anticipate that that medium, too, will begin to fragment its output and cater to, rather than counter, the increasing diversity of the consuming public. Such breakthroughs are, in fact, closer than the horizon. The invention of electronic video recording, the spread of cable television, the possibility of broadcasting direct from satellite to cable systems, all point to vast increases in program

35. Perhaps we do not appreciate the effects of the media barrage on value formation early in life. The media effect we readily see; as the children watch TV, they study and read less. But we are less aware of the message effect, which may take longer, as when the children watch the Beatles and, five years later, refuse to cut their hair. Historically, we have been relatively insensitive to message effects, yet these may constitute the single most important factor in determining the future value structure of society. (BM9)

36. The reasons may involve the difficulty of tying cause and effect together; our conviction that restricting the media may be synonymous with loss of freedom; and the fact that restructuring beliefs may be harder than creating them initially. Someday, we will appreciate how much value formation is determined by early electrical communications media, which are now designed for primary interests of advertisers. Is indoctrination of values better by accident than by design? (BM9)

37. John F. White, President, NET says:

Anybody who talks in terms of 20 years about satellite broadcasting directly to the homes is kidding themselves. There's going to be considerable resistance. The resistance will not involve whether we put a satellite up, but how we use it. I think the chances of any network of any kind being able to program out of New York or Hollywood straight into homes is a remote one because of the national investment and the national economy are based on individual stations. I think they will have to feed from the satellites to individual stations and then it again.

#### Potential Impact

All social institutions will have interests in the content of value-formulating messages. It will gradually sink in on all of them that they have a stake in what TV says to children. It will gradually sink in that the messages disseminated over the uniquely powerful medium of TV should be no more left to the whims and limited perspectives of advertisers and TV technicians than should the feeding of children be left to foods that happen to be advertised.

In addition to economic barriers, Leonard H. Goldenson, president of ABC, sees political ones. He can't imagine any government permitting satellite transmissions direct to our homes. He can't see anything changing politically where the Congress of the United States (or the ruling body of any country) is going to permit unlimited propaganda from orbital stations to come directly into the home without supervision. (BP416)

38. Kalven predicts a considerable change in privacy for some persons by 2000:

The ambivalence with which the public has greeted the Kennedy-Manchester dispute, the protests of Mrs. Mary Hemingway over publication of A.E. Hotchner's Papa Hemingway, the unease over the memoirs of Churchill's doctor, and the appearance of the Bullitt-Freud study of Woodrow Wilson point up the serious puzzle about the private life of the public figure and suggest the likelihood that there will be further changes in the norms as to what is appropriately newsworthy. The privacy of the famous, the great, and the important may yield to the notion that it is in the public interest to have every last detail of their lives and correspondence fully in the press and public record. Henceforward, the great will live, so to speak, in the public domain. (BP416)

39. A provocative proposal for analysis of leaders has been developed by MIT historian, Bruce Mazlish, who suggests a psychodynamic inquiry by a team of specialists into the values and motivations of leaders such as the next president. (Mazlish is bringing out a book on President Nixon, analyzing him from his early days to the White House.) He cites A Psychological History of Adolph Hitler, due for publication in

Potential Impact

If psychodynamic inquiry into the backgrounds and psyches of national leaders ever achieves national popularity, it will probably include top military leaders in its scope.

the Fall of 1972, which was sponsored by the SS in 1943; analyst Walter Langer was commissioned to prepare a psycho-analytic history of Hitler. The result was accurate; Langer predicted what Hitler's behavior would be if World War II turned against Germany; but the study was buried in intelligence files as a secret document. (BS30)

40. More concern over leaders in the future may encourage this idea. There is invasion of the subject's privacy, to be sure; yet who would uncritically endorse past and current methods of selecting key leaders? Despite the "open" methods of democratic systems, much is hidden from selectors and masses about real events, values, emotional stability, etc., of critical candidates. Note, for example, the recent indictment of the former Governor of Illinois, and similar cases pending, involving Senators, Representatives, and other high public officials.

41. There is being expressed apprehension about possible political exploitation of increasingly versatile capabilities of communications media. One area of apprehension would concern the possible merchandising of political candidates, by using advanced techniques of persuasion; by the prepared television image (makeup, lighting, setting, dubbing voices, etc.); by the use of ghost-writers, preparing and pre-testing scripts.

Another area of apprehension would concern the possible use of the mass demonstration, the coupling of financial, electronic, and political interests to portray (even to generate) violent demonstrations to subvert legitimate representative channels.

Another area of apprehension concerns possible decline of cohesion. Some cohesion is necessary for government. Inter-change is also necessary; but proliferation of easily-generated copy on one side of an issue can saturate groups, erode intercommunication, and perhaps generate increasing recourse to confrontation

A final aspect of apprehension concerns the danger of the Instant Plebiscite, which television is now approaching in capability. Must issues be reduced to TV simplicity? Instant polls may lead to demands for instant action votes. (BM9)